

ANDREAS  
AND  
THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

*TWO ANGLO-SAXON NARRATIVE POEMS*

EDITED  
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY  
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GINN & COMPANY  
BOSTON NEW YORK · CHICAGO LONDON

1906

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**The Athenaeum Press**  
GINN & COMPANY PRO-  
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TO  
JAMES WILSON BRIGHT  
SCHOLAR AND GUIDE OF SCHOLARS  
THIS VOLUME  
IS  
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED



## PREFACE

Although editions of the text of *Andreas* have been made from time to time, no comprehensive treatment of the poem on its various sides of interest has appeared since Grimm published his *Andreas und Elene* in 1840. In the meantime our knowledge of the language and the literature of the Anglo-Saxon period has not remained stationary, and a new endeavor to present the poem in its proper linguistic and historical setting needs no apology. *The Fates of the Apostles* is here edited for the first time in its entirety and with explanatory comment

The text of both poems is based upon Wulker's *Codex Vercellensis*, a photographic reproduction of the poetical parts of the Vercelli Book. This volume is referred to in the textual notes as MS. Where the readings of the reproduction are uncertain, which happens but rarely, recourse has been had to the *Bibliothek* and to Napier's collation of the text of the *Bibliothek* with the manuscript. Readings derived from either of the two latter sources are always specifically indicated. In the Text all departures from the manuscript readings which originate with the present editor are printed in italics, readings suggested by earlier editors or commentators which are incorporated into the text are printed in Roman type. Additions of a complete word or of several words are enclosed within square brackets.

With the exception of a few of the commoner forms of the pronoun, the article, and the conjunctions, the Glossary is intended to be a complete verbal and grammatical index to both poems. No space has been given, in the Introduction, to a formal discussion of grammar or metre. What little of special importance there was to say about these subjects has been said in the Notes.

The editor regrets that the results of his chapter on authorship, in the Introduction, could not be more conclusive than they are. In the end, however, the chief gain in such discussions consists in determining the differences and similarities of various works, not in tagging each with an author's name. The present discussion will have attained its end if it carry back the question of the authorship of *Andreas* to a

sounder if less dogmatic position than that to which much recent theorizing has been hurrying it. To some it would seem a simple solution of the matter to combine *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* into a single poem, and to assign this poem to Cynewulf, but reasons why this disposition of the two poems cannot be permitted will be found fully discussed in the Introduction. The importance, however, of *The Fates of the Apostles* in the discussion of the authorship of *Andreas*, as well as the general similarity of the poems in subject matter, rendered it advisable that they should be treated together.

To the various friends who by counsel and encouragement have assisted the editor in the preparation of this volume grateful acknowledgments are made, especially to Professor Hart for surrendering the *Andreas* into less skilful and experienced hands than his own after he had made considerable collections towards an edition of the poem, to Dr Alma Blount for the use of her thorough and scholarly study of the language and vocabulary of *Andreas*, and to Professor Fied Tupper, Jr., for his comments on some troublesome passages of the text. Above all, however, the editor is indebted to Professors Bright and Kittredge, the general editors of the series. Whenever it was possible to do so, specific acknowledgment has been made of this indebtedness, but in most instances the editor has been compelled to profit by their generosity in silence.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
October, 1905

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# INTRODUCTION

## I

### THE MANUSCRIPT AND EDITIONS

The poems *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* are both contained in the *Vercelli Book* or *Codex Vercellensis*. This famous volume is preserved in the cathedral library at Vercelli, in northern Italy, where it has probably rested for some six or seven centuries. Various attempts have been made to explain the appearance of this book, made up entirely of Anglo-Saxon texts, in so unexpected a place, and, as the most plausible of the theories brought forward derives much of its probability from the presence in the volume of a poem on St Andrew, the discussion has here a special interest and importance.

The opinion of the Italian scholar Gazzera,<sup>1</sup> that the manuscript was brought to Vercelli by John Scotus Erigena, is untenable, since John Scotus died about the year 875, and the handwriting of the manuscript is indisputably above a century later. Equally unfounded is Earle's theory<sup>2</sup> that the manuscript was taken to Vercelli by Cyneweard, bishop of Wells. Cyneweard is mentioned in the *Chronicle* under the years 964 and 975. The entry for the latter year states that he "left Britain" (*of Brytene gewāit*). Although this phrase differs slightly from the common euphemistic form of expression for recording a death, it seems probable that this is its meaning, since no further mention of Cyneweard is made in the *Chronicle*.<sup>3</sup> Even though the phrase be taken literally, however, it offers no foundation for Earle's hypothesis that Cyneweard was the son of the poet Cynewulf, that he was himself a poet and the author of the poetical account of the battle of Brunanburh given in the *Chronicle* under the year 937, and that in the year 975 he

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia* V, 452

<sup>2</sup> *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. xxii

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Chronicle* (Parker MS) 790, 794, 870 (cf. MS D), and 961, and Earle and Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles* II, 163. Cf. also Klaeber, *MLN* XX, 32, who calls attention to the amplifying phrase *burh gecyndne craft*

left England, carrying with him a volume of his father's poetry which he left behind him in his journeyings at Vercelli.

Much more plausible is Wulker's theory,<sup>1</sup> based upon an oral tradition with which he became acquainted at the time of his visits to Vercelli (in 1881 and 1885), to the effect that there formerly existed at Vercelli a hospital for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims on their way to Rome.<sup>2</sup> At this hospital, Wulker thinks, a library of religious works may gradually have collected, and among them may have been the volume which we know as the *Vercelli Book*. Many Anglo-Saxons undoubtedly passed through Vercelli on their way to Rome. There is no reason to believe, however, that they established a library at Vercelli, and this explanation of the origin of the *Vercelli Book* is too uncircumstantial to merit more than a passing notice.

The most convincing theory of the history of the manuscript was first set forth in an unsigned contribution to the *Quarterly Review* for 1845.<sup>3</sup> The principal purpose of this article is the criticism of an essay by H. G. Knight, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*. In his discussion of the churches of Italy, Knight had called attention to the markedly English characteristics of the church of St Andrew at Vercelli.<sup>4</sup> It is in the endeavor to explain the presence of this English church in Italy that the reviewer brings forward his theory to account for the presence of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript at Vercelli. His words are as follows —

If the traveller inquires who was the founder of this magnificent structure [the church of Sant' Andrea at Vercelli], he will hear a name which often occurs in the pages of Matthew Paris. It is that of the Legate, Cardinal Wala, or Guala, who appears as an influential statesman in English affairs during the eventful period of the last years of John and the accession of Henry III, when it seemed as if the crown of England might be transferred to a foreign dynasty.

Guala Bicchiere, born of a distinguished family, was raised to the purple by Innocent III, and despatched by him as legate to France in 1208. In

<sup>1</sup> First enounced in *Anglia* V, 454, note; stated again in *Grundriss*, p. 237, in *Cod. Ver.*, p. vi, and *Anglia* XII, 629.

<sup>2</sup> This tradition probably rests on the fact that a part of Guala's foundation at Vercelli was a hospital richly endowed with money obtained from Henry III of England. This hospital, founded in 1224, is still in existence. See Gesell Fels, *Ober-Italien*<sup>5</sup>, p. 702.

<sup>3</sup> LXXV, 398-399.

<sup>4</sup> See Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches, chiefly Italian*, pp. 295-304, for an interesting account of this church.

1215 the cardinal was again sent to France, when Innocent used his influence to dissuade Philip the Fair from attempting the conquest of England. For this purpose Guala crossed over with Louis, the better to oppose him. In England Guala strenuously supported John with all his influence, causing the French prince and Stephen Langton with bell, book, and candle.

On the death of King John, Guala took an active part in the great council of Gloucester, and mainly assisted in establishing the claims of Henry III. The gratitude of the new monarch bestowed upon Guala much preferment, and amongst other benefices, the priory of *St Andrew* at Chester. The object of his mission being successfully accomplished by the cessation of hostilities, Guala returned to his native city, where founding a Collegiate Church, he dedicated the new structure to *St Andrew*, doubtless with reference to his English benefice. Guala employed as his architect a French ecclesiastic Thomas, who afterwards became the first abbot of the convent,<sup>1</sup> but the style is so truly English that it is impossible to doubt that the working drawings were brought from England. Upon this point the form of the choir is conclusive.

Guala, mixed as he must have been with various classes of society in England, had evidently acquired strong English feelings. He makes many bequests in his will in *sterlings*, of which he possessed so good store. Relics of English saints were bestowed by him upon his foundation, and a most curious and important collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry, now in the Cathedral library in Vercelli — and of which the chief piece, the metrical legend of *St Andrew*, is about to be published by Mr Kemble — results without doubt from the collection which Guala had formed.

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, *History of Architecture* II, 199, says that the architect of the church was an Englishman, named Brigwithe, but I know no other authority for this statement. According to Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London, 1874, pp 333-334, in the gable of the church "is the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, below a figure kneeling before her, and said to represent the architect of the church, who died in 1246, being Abbat as well as architect." That the first abbot of the church was a Frenchman, named Thomas, we learn from Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett Ital* IV, 464. An interesting letter is preserved (Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana* I, 206) from Adam Marsh (d circa 1257) to his friend Thomas, abbot of *St Andrews* at Vercelli, in which the great Oxford scholar urges upon the abbot the evils of non residence. Thomas appears to have held a benefice in England, though no mention is made of any specific place. In Frova's life of Guala (p 175), also, we learn that it was to Thomas as abbot that the possessions of the church of *St Andrew* at Vercelli were consigned at the death of Guala. A late and unfounded tradition is recorded in Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, in the account of the life of Guala, to the effect that the church of *St Andrew* at Vercelli was built after the plans of an English church at Winchester.

This account of Guala as given by the reviewer was corrected in one particular by Paul,<sup>1</sup> who pointed out that the benefice bestowed upon Guala was not the church of St Andrew at Chester, but that of St Andrew at Chesterton in Cambridgeshire. The evidence for this is contained in a document,<sup>2</sup> dated January 22 in the 22d year of Henry III (A. D. 1238), which confirms a grant made during the king's minority "de ecclesia de Cestreton, in diocesi Elyensi" to God and the church of Blessed Andrew of Vercelli at the instance of Cardinal Guala, then papal legate in England<sup>3</sup>

Some further circumstantial evidence in support of the theory of the reviewer may be derived from several of the statements in Frova's life of Guala<sup>4</sup> We learn from this source that Guala was a scholar, a lover

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, Hamburg, 1853, p 512, also *Gott gel Anzeigen*, 1866, p 1412 See Cook, *MLN* IV, 212

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed Williams, Rolls Series, London, 1872, II, 344

<sup>3</sup> The document is preserved in Bekynton in a copy dated October 20, 1420 The advowson of the church afterwards lapsed to Henry VI through the adhesion of the abbot and chapter of St Andrews Vercellensis to the antipope, Felix V In 1440 (see Bekynton, I, lxxix-lxxx, II, 346 ff) it was assigned to King's Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards it fell to Trinity College, Cambridge (1546), which college succeeded to all the property of King's Hall (Bekynton, I, lxxx) The church remains at present in the possession of Trinity College, its annual income in the first half of the fifteenth century was variously estimated as eighty marks and as forty pounds, it now amounts to between six hundred and seven hundred pounds sterling (Bekynton, I, lxxx) Britton and Brayley, *The Beauties of England* II, 113, mention Chesterton as a large village one mile north of Cambridge. The church is described as "ancient and spacious" St Andrew appears to have been held in special respect in Cambridgeshire Of the twenty five churches within five miles of Cambridge, eight are consecrated in his name, Barnwell, Cherry Hinton, Chesterton, Grantchester, Histon, Impington, Oakington, and Stapleford See *Churches of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, Cambridge Camden Society, 1845, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> *Gualae Bacheri, Presbyteri Cardinalis S. Martini in montibus, vita et gesta collecta a Philadelfo Libico* [pseud. of Giuseppe Frova], Mediolani, 1767. This volume has not been accessible to me It was used, however, by the author of the brief biography in Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, and by Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* IV, 1, iv, in the preparation of his longer account of Guala. Professor Cook, in "Cardinal Guala and the Vercelli Book," *University of California Library Bulletin*, No 10, has given a very complete summary of those facts in the life of Guala which may have bearing on the history of the *Vercelli Book*. But Professor Cook knew Frova's life of Guala only through the medium of Tiraboschi I am indebted to Mr. J A Herbert, of the British Museum, for kindly

and collector of books. That some of his books were of English origin is evident from the fact that at least two of them were written in an English character.<sup>1</sup> One is described<sup>2</sup> as follows: "item bibliotheca de littera Anglicana qua D Cardinalis utebatur in capella"<sup>3</sup> The second book is described<sup>4</sup> as "Omeliarium de Capella D Cardinalis de bona littera Anglicana." It is interesting to observe that these two manuscripts in English script are distinguished from the rest as being more especially the personal property of Cardinal Guala. At his death in 1227, Guala bequeathed his rich collection of books to the church which he had founded at Vercelli.<sup>5</sup>

One naturally asks, however, what use Cardinal Guala could have for a manuscript written in a language which was hardly intelligible even to an Englishman of the thirteenth century. To this Professor Cook replies<sup>6</sup> that "Guala, like other strong natures of whom we are told, may have been somewhat superstitious, and have believed that his life was somehow under the influence of St Andrew. Not only did he leave England on or about St Andrew's Day [Matth Paris, *Chron Maj* iii, 42], Pandulf arriving on the Monday following, but King John, while under Guala's protection as legate, won a victory over his rebellious barons at Rochester on the vigil of St Andrew, perhaps assisted by the saint himself, the patron of that city, according to Higden (*Polych.* 7 50)." Some such superstitious reverence would serve to account for

providing me with transcripts of those passages of Frova's life, particularly of the list of books which Guala bequeathed to his church at Vercelli, which are important for the present discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Only one is mentioned by Tiraboschi, IV, 124-125

<sup>2</sup> Frova's life, p 175

<sup>3</sup> The word *bibliotheca* is used here, as frequently in mediæval Latin (see Ducange, s v), with the meaning Bible. That the phrase *de littera Anglicana* means "in English characters," i e characters such as the English scribes used, not "in the English language," is evident from other occurrences of the phrase in Frova's list, e g *de littera Parisiensis, de littera Bolomensis, de littera antiqua*, etc. For other examples, see Ducange s v *littera*.

<sup>4</sup> Frova's life, p 175

<sup>5</sup> A list of the books which he gave to St Andrews is printed in Frova's life, pp 175-178, from an inventory made at the time of Guala's death. The books are chiefly copies of various parts of the Bible, of the writings of Augustine, Gregory, and other fathers, decrees, of various councils of the church, and similar works. On p 176, however, a work of Bede's is listed: "Item Jeronimus contra Jovinianum et Beda super actus Apostolorum in uno volumine."

<sup>6</sup> l. c., pp 7-8

Guala's possession and preservation of an Anglo-Saxon volume containing a poem on St Andrew<sup>1</sup>

This evidence, circumstantial and indirect as it is, does not of course show conclusively that the *Vercelli Book* was brought to Italy by Cardinal Guala. It has, however, removed a great deal of the feeling of strangeness and unexpectedness at the presence of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in this remote Italian library. There can, indeed, be little doubt that, either directly or indirectly through his foundations at that place, Cardinal Guala is responsible for the long journey of the manuscript from its home in England to its present resting-place at Vercelli.

Like the *Exeter Book* the *Vercelli Book* is a miscellany. It differs, however, from the *Exeter Book*, which contains only poetry, in that it is made up of works in both prose and verse. The handwriting of the manuscript is that of the beginning of the eleventh century<sup>2</sup>. According to Wulker<sup>3</sup> at least two and possibly three different hands are to be distinguished in the writing of the manuscript. Napier,<sup>4</sup> however, sees only one handwriting in the volume. So far as one can judge from the photographic reproduction of the poetical parts of the manuscript, the differences in handwriting are very slight and such as might occur in the writing of any scribe as his materials — parchment, ink, and pen — changed from time to time. Furthermore, in its mechanical details the book is made on a single plan, the same system of punctuation and sectional division being maintained throughout. There are indications, also, it is interesting to note, that the form in which the manuscript has come down to us is that in which it left the hands of its first compiler.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are indications that sympathetic relations existed between Vercelli and England in connection with a monastery school which grew up at St. Andrews. Englishmen are mentioned as being present at this school in 1228 (Tiraboschi, IV, 82-83). According to a credible tradition Adam Marsh himself was at one time a student in this school (Tiraboschi, IV, 464).

<sup>2</sup> Wulker, *Cod. Ver.*, p. viii; see also Wulker, *Grundriss*, pp. 237-243, and *Anglia*, V, 451-465; Korting, *Grundriss s. Gesch. d. eng. Lit.*, p. 20. Grimm, p. xlv, dates the writing of the manuscript a century too early.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Ver.*, p. vii, *Grundriss*, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 67.

<sup>5</sup> These indications are the following. Each signature of the volume is numbered by the scribe, in figures at the beginning of the signature and in letters of the alphabet at the end. In the case of several signatures where the numbering is omitted, the numbering of the following signatures indicates that they were counted in. On the first folio, which has been so much worn and injured that

The volume contains altogether 135 folios. From its appearance one might infer that occasional folios had been cut out, but, as Napier has remarked, the presence of a narrow strip of parchment between two folios is not always proof of the excision of a folio<sup>1</sup> The writing is

very little of it is now decipherable, no number can be distinguished, but at the foot of fol 9<sup>b</sup> is written the letter A, an indication that the first signature of the manuscript, as we have it, was the first signature of the volume as it was planned. According to Wulker (*Anglia* V, 454) only a few letters are legible on the first folio, on fol 2<sup>a</sup>, however, the writing is quite plain, beginning in the middle of a sentence and the middle of a word. The first number, a prose sermon, extends to the bottom of fol 9<sup>a</sup>, as this is somewhat longer than most of the prose works of the manuscript, and as the usual number of folios in a signature is eight or nine, we may suppose that the first folio of the volume as it now stands was its original opening folio. At the top, fol 10<sup>a</sup> is numbered two, fol 18<sup>b</sup>, bottom, is marked B. The third signature, C, comprises fol 19<sup>a</sup>-24<sup>b</sup>, the fourth, D, fol 25<sup>a</sup>-32<sup>b</sup>, the fifth, E, fol 33<sup>a</sup>-40<sup>b</sup>, the sixth, F, fol 41<sup>a</sup>-47<sup>b</sup>, the seventh, G, fol 48<sup>a</sup>-55<sup>b</sup>, all these signatures are numbered on the first folio and lettered on the last. The eighth signature, which is neither numbered nor lettered, comprises fol 56<sup>a</sup>-63<sup>b</sup>. The ninth signature is numbered on fol 64<sup>a</sup> and lettered I on fol 71<sup>b</sup>, the tenth, K, comprises fol 72<sup>a</sup>-79<sup>b</sup>. The eleventh signature is numbered on fol 80<sup>a</sup>, but it is not lettered at the end. The twelfth signature is numbered on fol 86<sup>a</sup> and lettered M on fol 91<sup>b</sup>. The thirteenth signature, N, comprises fol 92<sup>a</sup>-98<sup>b</sup>, the fourteenth, O, fol 99<sup>a</sup>-104<sup>b</sup>, the fifteenth, P, fol 105<sup>a</sup>-111<sup>b</sup>. The sixteenth signature, neither numbered nor lettered, comprises fol 112<sup>a</sup>-118<sup>b</sup>, as is proved by the numbering of the seventeenth signature on fol 119<sup>a</sup>. The seventeenth signature, which is not lettered at the close, comprises only two folios, fol 119<sup>a</sup>-120<sup>b</sup>, this short signature of only two leaves was made because the scribe needed only two leaves to finish a homily which closed one of the prose sections of the volume. On fol 121<sup>a</sup>, which is numbered eighteen, begins the poem *Elene*, this signature is lettered S on fol 128<sup>b</sup>, showing that two letters designating signatures sixteen and seventeen must be counted in in the reckoning. Signature nineteen, numbered on fol 129<sup>a</sup>, extends, according to Wulker (*Grundriss*, p 238), only to fol 130<sup>b</sup>, without lettering, signature twenty, according to Wulker, consists of fol 131<sup>a</sup>-134<sup>b</sup>, with neither numbering nor lettering, fol 135, with which the manuscript ends, Wulker thinks is tacked on to the end of the last signature. But Napier (*Haupt's Zs* XXXIII, 67) has pointed out that Wulker is in error in his account of the manuscript from fol 129<sup>a</sup> to the end. The nineteenth signature, according to Napier, comprises fol 129<sup>a</sup>-135<sup>b</sup>, fol 135 is not tacked on to the end of the signature but is the corresponding half of fol 130. It is probable that one folio, the corresponding half of fol 129, has been lost from this signature. This lost folio would make the nineteenth a signature of eight folios, which is the normal number in the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> The scribe may have used sheets of parchment not large enough to double so as to form two folios, and in order to get a purchase for sewing this single sheet

plain and legible. In several places, however, notably on fol 36<sup>b</sup>, 37<sup>b</sup>, 38<sup>a</sup>, 38<sup>b</sup>, 39<sup>1</sup>, 42<sup>b</sup>, and 54<sup>1</sup>, it has suffered injury, apparently from the application of some acid. The only passage which is thereby rendered completely illegible is that on fol 54<sup>1</sup>. Since the handwriting of the manuscript is always very clear and distinct, there is no apparent reason why these occasional passages should have been treated with acids.

The prose pieces occupy 92 folios, the sections in verse 43 folios, of the volume. The following is a complete list of the contents of the manuscript <sup>1</sup>

- (1) Prose sermon on the Passion, the Entombment, and the Descent into Hell, fol 1<sup>1</sup>-9<sup>a</sup>
- (2) Sermon on the Last Judgment, fol 9<sup>b</sup>-12<sup>1</sup>
- (3) Sermon on the Christian virtues, fol 12<sup>b</sup>-16<sup>a</sup>
- (4) Sermon on the Last Judgment, including a dialogue between the soul and the body, fol 16<sup>b</sup>-24<sup>b</sup>
- (5) Sermon on the birth of Christ, fol 25<sup>a</sup>-29<sup>1</sup>
- (6) *Andreas*, fol 29<sup>b</sup>-52<sup>b</sup>
- (7) *The Fates of the Apostles*, fol 52<sup>b</sup>-53<sup>b</sup>
- (8) Runic passage, containing the name Cynwulf, fol 54<sup>a</sup> <sup>2</sup>
- (9) Prose sermon on the miracles preceding Christ's birth and the Flight into Egypt, fol 54<sup>b</sup>-56<sup>1</sup>
- (10) Sermon against extravagance and gluttony, fol 56<sup>b</sup>-59<sup>1</sup>
- (11) Sermon on the Last Judgment and the punishments of Hell, fol 59<sup>1</sup>-61<sup>a</sup>
- (12) Sermon on the suddenness of death, fol 61<sup>a</sup>-65<sup>1</sup>
- (13) Sermon on the transitoriness of the world and its joys, fol 65<sup>a</sup>-71<sup>a</sup>
- (14) Three sermons for the three *gangdagas*, or Rogation Days, fol 71<sup>b</sup>-76<sup>b</sup>
- (15) Sermon entitled *Larspel to swylcere tide swa man wile*, fol 76<sup>b</sup>-80<sup>b</sup>.
- (16) Sermon on the Judgment Day, fol 80<sup>b</sup>-85<sup>b</sup>

folio in, he may have bent over the inner edge of the folio, which would then show up between two folios as a narrow strip. This Napier takes to be the case after fol 29, 35, 38, 50, and 53, on the other hand, after fol. 42 and 103 Napier thinks a folio has been cut out of the volume. Morley, *English Writers* II, 195, amusingly blunders into ascribing the composition of the *Vercelli Book* to Eusebius, and says that leaves were torn out of it, "often from among the poetry, as precious gifts for favored persons." But Blume, *Iter Italicum* I, 99-100, from whom Morley evidently derived his information, makes this statement not with reference to our codex, but with reference to a famous manuscript of the Gospels preserved at Vercelli. Robinson, *Introduction to our Early English Literature*, pp 211-212, repeats Morley's mistake.

<sup>1</sup> As given by Wulker, *Anglia* V, 451-465, and *Grundriss*, pp. 485-492.

<sup>2</sup> Unnoticed by Wulker, first pointed out by Napier, *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 70.



- (17) Sermon on the Epiphany, fol 85<sup>b</sup>-90<sup>b</sup>
- (18) Sermon on the Purification, fol 90<sup>b</sup>-94<sup>b</sup>
- (19) Sermon on St Martin, fol 94<sup>b</sup>-101<sup>a</sup>
- (20) Poetical dialogue between the soul and the body, fol 101<sup>b</sup>-103<sup>b</sup>
- (21) Fragment of a sermon in verse on Psalm XXVIII, fol 104<sup>a</sup>-104<sup>b</sup>
- (22) *Vision of the Cross*, fol 104<sup>b</sup>-106<sup>a</sup>
- (23) Prose homily, fol 106<sup>b</sup>-109<sup>b</sup><sup>1</sup>
- (24) Sermon on the deadly sins, fol 109<sup>b</sup>-112<sup>a</sup>
- (25) Prose homily, fol 112<sup>a</sup>-116<sup>b</sup><sup>1</sup>
- (26) Sermon on the Christian virtues, fol 116<sup>b</sup>-120<sup>b</sup>
- (27) *Elene*, fol 121<sup>a</sup>-133<sup>b</sup>
- (28) Prose life of St Guthlac, fol 133<sup>b</sup>-135<sup>b</sup>

The existence of the *Vercelli Book* was first pointed out by Dr. Friedrich Blume, a German law-professor and bibliographer. In 1822 and 1823 Dr Blume made a tour of investigation through the chief Italian libraries, the first purpose of which was the acquisition of material for the study of the sources of Roman law. In the course of his investigations, however, he was drawn into a consideration of manuscripts of literary as well as those of legal interest. It was during his examination of the manuscripts of the cathedral library at Vercelli, from October 27 to November 19, 1822, that he discovered the *Codex Vercellensis*. On his return to Germany he published an account of his researches in Italy, in a work in four volumes entitled *Iter Italicum*<sup>2</sup>

The account of our codex given in the first volume is very brief, it is evident that Dr Blume was not aware of the importance of the manuscript he had discovered<sup>3</sup>. The discovery appears to have aroused little interest. Aside from several brief notices of the existence of the volume,<sup>4</sup> practically no attention was paid to it until a dozen years after

<sup>1</sup> No title or description of the content of numbers 23 and 25 is given by Wulker.

<sup>2</sup> Vol I, Berlin and Stettin, 1824, Vol II, Halle, 1827, Vol III, Halle, 1830, Vol IV, Halle, 1836.

<sup>3</sup> He gives the library number of the volume as Cod CXVII, and says merely that it contains "Legenden oder Homilien in angelsaxischer Sprache. Dies ist um so merkwürdiger, da keine Kapitular-bibliothek in Italien andere als lateinische oder itahenische Handschriften enthält, selbst griechische finden sich nur in Verona und vielleicht in Ravenna."

<sup>4</sup> By Pertz, who follows Blume, in *Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichte* V, 535 ff, Hannover, 1824, by Blume again, in *Rheinisches Museum für Jurisprudenz*, Jahrg 1832, Göttingen, 1833, IV, p 234 ff, and in *Bibliotheca Laborum*

its discovery In the fourth volume of his *Iter Italicum*, p 133, Dr. Blume returns to the subject "Das angelsaxische Homilium ist vor kurzem auf Veranstaltung englischer Geschichtsforscher, von (dem nun schon verstorbenen) Dr Maier vollständig abgeschrieben worden, es haben sich wichtige angelsaxische Lieder darin gefunden (Jac Grimm)" From this passage it will be seen that, contrary to the generally accepted opinion,<sup>1</sup> the first transcript of the *Vercelli Book* was not made by its discoverer, who indeed seems to have been ill prepared for such a task, but by one who has received slight credit for a very meritorious piece of work

It was this copy of the manuscript by Dr Maier that furnished the basis for the first printed edition of the text of any part of the manuscript This edition, usually referred to as *Appendix B*, was published under the direction of the Record Commission of Great Britain, in the year 1836, as an appendix (*Appendix B*) to a *Report* by Charles Purton Cooper, secretary of the Record Commission, on the *Foedera* of Rymer The edition, which contains only a bare text of the poetical parts of the manuscript, with neither introduction, translation, glossary, notes (except a few textual emendations), nor account of the attendant circumstances of its publication, was printed, according to Kemble (p. v), under the direction of Thorpe<sup>2</sup> The *Report*, of which the *Appendices* were to form a part, was never made, and on the expiration of the Record Commission in 1837 the *Appendices* were placed in store, where they remained until the year 1869. In that year the Master of the Rolls directed the *Appendices*, although imperfect, to be distributed in such a manner as might render them most useful for literary and historical purposes.<sup>3</sup>

A few copies of *Appendix B* appear to have got abroad, however, at the time of its first publication in 1836. Grimm, who apparently had

*Manuscriptorum Italica*, Gottingen, 1834, p 6, at the latter place Blume gives a transcription of a few lines from the opening of the homily on the purification of the Virgin (fol 90<sup>b</sup>), from which one may judge that his comprehension of Anglo-Saxon must have been very scanty. For this passage, and the above references, see Wulker, *Grundriss*, p. 240

<sup>1</sup> Wulker, *Grundriss*, p. 420, Kemble, p. v; for fuller references see my note, *MLN* XVII, 171-172

<sup>2</sup> Three plates are given reproducing fol 75<sup>b</sup>, fol. 43<sup>a</sup> (ll. 1025-1060), and the large capital on fol 49<sup>a</sup> (l. 1478)

<sup>3</sup> See the note prefixed to the volume by the Master of the Rolls

seen Dr Maier's manuscript copy of the text, was greatly disappointed at the inaccessibility of this first printed edition. It was not until 1839 that, through the kindness of Lappenberg, the historian, he had at his disposal a copy of the *Appendix*. In 1840 appeared his edition of *Andreas* and *Elene*, which he characterizes as, after *Beowulf*, "the oldest and most instructive examples of Anglo-Saxon poetry"<sup>1</sup> Grimm's edition may fairly be called the first edition of any portion of the manuscript. His texts are preceded by an introduction in which there is a discussion of the sources, the date, and the authorship of the two poems printed, and he gives numerous elaborate and scholarly notes.

Grimm's edition was followed by Kemble's, Part I, containing *Andreas*, appearing in 1843, and Part II, containing *Elene* and the minor poems, including *The Fates of the Apostles*, appearing in 1846<sup>2</sup> In 1858 appeared the second volume of Grein's *Bibliothek*, which contains *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas*. In the preparation of his edition Grein made use of Thorpe (quoting his text as manuscript), Grimm, and Kemble, neither the original manuscript nor the transcript by Dr Maier was consulted by him. First-hand reference to the manuscript was apparently not made again for many years, and then only to *Elene*<sup>3</sup> But in 1881, and again in 1884, Professor Wulker visited Vercelli and made a new and careful study of the manuscript. The results of his observations appeared, first, in a description of the prose pieces of the manuscript,<sup>4</sup> and, second, in an entirely new text of the poetical portions of the volume<sup>5</sup> In the meantime, however, Baskervill's separate edition

<sup>1</sup> P iv

<sup>2</sup> A brief introduction precedes the text, but nothing is added to Grimm's discussion of the poems. Kemble's text is also derived entirely from Grimm, without reference even to the text of *Appendix B*, though in the Preface, p vii, he speaks of making use of the labors of his "two learned friends and predecessors." This is proved by such readings as l 67, where Th reads as the MS *dæde*, Gm without remark and K *dæda*, l 261, Th. as MS *se ðe þæs*, Gm without remark and K *se þæs*, l 337, Th as MS *ðurfan*, Gm *durfon*, the MS reading in the note given as *durfan*, K without remark *durfon*. K's departures from Gm are all either individual emendations or corrections of obvious misprints, e g, l 112, Gm *alyseð*, K *alyseð*, l 219, Th and Gm *wyrdeð*, K *wyrðeð*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cynewulf's Elene*, herausgegeben von Julius Zupitza, Berlin, 1877 (fourth edition, 1899)

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia* V, 451 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Grein-Wulker, *Bibl. d. angels. Poesie* III, 1 ff, 1888.

of *Andreas* had appeared in 1885.<sup>1</sup> In 1889 Napier<sup>2</sup> printed a collation of the poetical parts of the manuscript, pointing out at the same time the important passage on fol 54<sup>a</sup> containing the name Cynwulf, which had theretofore remained unnoticed. Finally, in 1894, Wulker<sup>3</sup> made the original of the poetical parts of the manuscript accessible to all by means of an excellent photographic reproduction of those sections.<sup>4</sup> Besides the complete editions of the poem, extracts from *Andreas* have also appeared in various reading-books.<sup>5</sup>

*The Fates of the Apostles* was first printed in *Appendix B*.<sup>6</sup> It was omitted by Grimm in his edition of *Andreas* and *Elene*, but was included by Kemble in his edition of the poetry of the *Vercelli Book*.<sup>7</sup> The text appears again in Grein's edition,<sup>8</sup> and in Wulker's revision of Grein.<sup>9</sup> The passage on fol 54<sup>a</sup> (*Ap* 96-122) appears in none of these editions.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baskervill announced his text, on the title-page, as based on the manuscript. But in his introduction, pp v-vi, we are told that the new manuscript readings are "a collation of the manuscript with the printed text," made by Wulker, apparently in 1881, on the basis of Grein's text. Besides these collations, which were entrusted to the editor for use in the preparation of his edition, Baskervill used Grimm, Kemble, and Grein, but not Thorpe.

<sup>2</sup> *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 66-73.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod Ver.*, Leipzig, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> Although the poetical parts of the *Vercelli Book* have all been printed a number of times, the prose pieces, which constitute much the larger half of the volume, still await the hand of the editor. An edition of these homilies by Professor Napier is among the announcements of the Early English Text Society.

<sup>5</sup> Ettmuller, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas*, pp 148-156, gives a passage corresponding to Grimm, ll 1068-1606. Theodor Muller's *Lesebuch*, a work which was never published and which has been accessible to me only in the readings from it recorded by Wulker, contains an extract from *Andreas* on pp 159-167. Ebeling, *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, pp 124-126, gives an extract corresponding to Grimm, ll 1156-1258. Ebeling's text is an exact copy of Grimm's, the misprint (l 1174) *ist* for *is* being repeated without remark, his notes also are merely abbreviated extracts from Grimm. Cook's extracts in *A First Book in Old English*, pp. 211-231, correspond to Wulker, ll 235-536, ll 818-825; and ll. 831-874<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> It follows *Andreas* immediately, but has this separate heading: *The Fates of the Twelve Apostles, A Fragment, e cod vercell*.

<sup>7</sup> Kemble uses the same title as *Appendix B*. He separates the poem from *Andreas*, placing it among a group of the minor poems of the *Vercelli Book*.

<sup>8</sup> With the title *Fata Apostolorum*. It immediately precedes *Andreas*.

<sup>9</sup> With the title *Die Schicksale der Apostel*. It is placed immediately after *Andreas*.

<sup>10</sup> It is given by Wulker, however, *Bibl* II, 566, in his Nachträge. It was first printed by Napier, *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 70 ff. A literal transcript of the passage is given by Wulker, *Cod Ver.*, p viii.

## II

## SOURCE OF ANDREAS

It has long been recognized that the ultimate source of *Andreas* is the Greek Πράξεις 'Ἀνδρέου καὶ Μαθθαία εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων<sup>1</sup> None of the extant manuscripts of the Πράξεις, however, can stand as the immediate source of the poem<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to assume, therefore, an intermediate version or versions, differing from all the Greek manuscripts That this hypothetical intermediate form of the legend was a Latin translation of the Πράξεις — a theory inherently probable in itself — is capable of almost certain proof, although no complete Latin translation has been discovered<sup>3</sup>

The chief argument for the former existence of a complete Latin translation of the Πράξεις is the fact that we have preserved to us fragments of a Latin translation The first of these fragments is a passage of three or four lines inserted in the body of the text of one of the manuscripts of an Anglo-Saxon prose version of the legend of St Andrew<sup>4</sup> This passage, with the corresponding passage from the Πράξεις, is as follows

<sup>1</sup> First edited by Thilo, *Acta SS Apostolorum Andreae et Matthiae*, Halle, 1846, again by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1851, pp 132-166, and again by Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha post Const Tischendorf ed Lipsius et Bonnet*, Vol I, Part 2, ed Max Bonnet, pp 65-116, Leipzig, 1898 Tischendorf's text has been translated into English by Alex Walker, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, ed Roberts and Donaldson, Vol XVI, pp 348-368

<sup>2</sup> As shown by Lipsius, I, 547, Bourauel, pp 107-117

<sup>3</sup> That the poem was derived from a Latin source is the opinion of Lipsius, I, 547, of Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte* III, 63, of Glode, *Anglia* IX, 274, of Zupitza, *Haupt's Zs* XXX, 175 ff, and of many others Ten Brink, *Hist of Eng Lit*, p 58, thinks the source of the poem was a Greek text of the Πράξεις, which, he says, must have been inaccessible to Cynewulf, the author of the poem, save through the help of learned monks Bourauel, pp 116-117, thinks it possible that the poet may have used both Greek and Latin versions of the Πράξεις

<sup>4</sup> Preserved in two MSS, MS 198 Corp Christ Col, Camb, and the MS of the Blickling Homilies, preserved at Blickling Hall in Norfolk The legend was first edited by Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St Andrew and St Veronica*, Cambridge, 1851, it was again edited by Morris, *E E T S* IV, 229-249 A third edition, based upon new readings of the MSS, appeared in Bright's *Anglo Saxon Reader*, New York, 1894 (3d ed), pp 113-128 According to A K Hardy, *Die Sprache der Blickling Homilien*, p 125, the collection to which the prose legend belongs was of northern origin.

*Blickling Homilies*, ed Morris,  
p 231

Tunc sanctus Andreas surgens  
mane abiit ad mare cum discipulis  
suis et uidit nauiculam in litore et  
intra naue sedentes ties uiros<sup>1</sup>

Πράξις, p 69, ll 14-17

Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἀνδρέας τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπο-  
ρεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἅμα τοῖς  
μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν  
αἰγιαλὸν εἶδεν πλοῖάριον μικρὸν καὶ ἐπὶ  
τὸ πλοῖάριον τρεῖς ἄνδρας καθεζομέ-  
νους

The corresponding passage in the Anglo-Saxon prose reads as follows

Sē hāliga Andrēas bā ārās on mergen, and hē ēode tō b̄wīe s̄l mid his  
discipulum, and hē geseah scip on b̄ām waroðe and b̄rȳ weras on b̄ām  
sittende<sup>2</sup>

The equivalent passage in *Andreas* is ll 235-247

These passages, it will be observed, repeat each other almost word  
for word. The only variation of importance is that *nauiculam*, which  
translates the Greek πλοῖάριον μικρὸν, appears in the Anglo-Saxon prose  
simply as *scip*, in *Andreas*, however, as *wīdfæðme scip*, l 240. But  
that *nauiculam* was the word which lay before the homilist we may  
be sure from his phrase *medmiclum scipe* (p 116, l 5), in the passage  
which immediately follows the lines quoted. The phrase of *Andreas* is  
to be regarded as nothing more than a poetic heightening of the lan-  
guage of its source. Aside, therefore, from the inference that the homi-  
list is here quoting from his original, nothing can be determined from  
the comparison of these short passages.

The second Latin fragment is larger and more important. It was  
discovered by Bonnet at Rome in a palimpsest of the eleventh century,<sup>3</sup>  
the original writing of which had not been entirely destroyed. The  
whole of it is printed by Bonnet in his edition of the Πράξις,<sup>4</sup> and as  
the passage is little short of decisive of the question of the Latin  
source of *Andreas* and the Anglo-Saxon prose, it is given here, in a

<sup>1</sup> Goodwin, p vii, note, thinks that this passage of Latin crept into the Anglo-Saxon text through inadvertence, Zupitza, *Haupt's Zs* XXX, 181, and Forster, *Ueber die Quellen von Aelfrics Hom. Cath.*, p 46, look upon this, as on all similar passages, as an intentional learned insertion made by the translator from the language of the original which he was translating. Zupitza's explanation is the more probable one.

<sup>2</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 116, ll. 1-3

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Vallicell., plut I, tom III, fol 44<sup>a</sup>-44<sup>b</sup>

<sup>4</sup> II, 1, pp 85-88. A part of the passage was printed by Forster, *Herrig's Archiv* XCI, 202, for the purpose of comparison with the Anglo-Saxon prose.

literal transcript, with the corresponding section of the *Πράξεις* beside it <sup>1</sup>  
The equivalent passage in *Andreas* is ll 843-954.

Cod Vallicell (*Πράξεις*, p 85,  
l 14)  
domiae  
domiae et respexit ad discipulos  
et uidit eos dormientem et exci-  
tans eos dixit eis Surgite filii  
5 mei et uidete et cognoscite miseri-  
cordiam dei que facta est nobis  
et scitote quia dominus Iesus  
Christus nobiscum erat in nauem  
et non cognouimus eum  
10  
nobis  
quas homo ad tentandum nos  
nam domine Iesu Christe intellegi  
tua loquella ide-  
15 (p 86, l 13)oque non te minime  
recognoui Et dixerunt discipuli  
eius ad ipsum Domine pater  
Andreas, ne speres quia nos alii  
intellegimus quicumque loqueua-  
20 ris in mari translati enim sumus  
in sommo gramori, et ascenderunt  
aquilae et rapuerunt animas nos-  
tras et duxerunt nos in paradysum  
quod est in caelis, et uidimus  
25 mirabilia magna et uidimus  
dominum nostrum Iesum Chris-  
tum sedentem in throno gloriae  
sae et omnes angeli circumstan-  
tem  
30  
et uidemus

*Πράξεις* (Cap 17, p 85, l 1)  
καὶ θεασάμενος εἶδεν τὴν πύλην  
τῆς πόλεως ἐκεῖνης καὶ περιβλε-  
ψάμενος εἶδεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ  
καθεύδοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ διύ-  
5 πνισεν αὐτοὺς λέγων Ἄνάστητε  
τεκνία μου, καὶ γινώσθε τὴν μεγά-  
λην οἰκονομίαν τὴν γενομένην ἡμῖν,  
καὶ μάθετε ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἦν μεθ'  
ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωμεν  
10 αὐτόν μετεμόρφωσεν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν  
ὡσπερ πρῶρεὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ  
ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐφάνη ἡμῖν  
ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐκπειράζων ἡμᾶς καὶ  
ὁ Ἄνδρέας ἐν ἑαυτῷ γενάμενος  
15 εἶπεν Ἐπέγνω σου κύριε τὴν  
καλὴν λαλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφανέρωσάς  
μοι ἑαυτόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγνώ-  
ρισά σε καὶ ἀποκριθῆτες οἱ μαθη-  
ταὶ αὐτοῦ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν Πάτερ  
20 Ἄνδρέα, μὴ νομίσης ὅτι ἔγνωμεν ἐν  
τῷ σε λαλεῖν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετ'  
αὐτοῦ εἰλκύσθημεν ὑπὸ ὕπνου  
βαρυ-(p 86)τάτου, καὶ κατήλθον ἐκ  
τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀετοὶ καὶ ἦραν τὰς  
25 ψυχὰς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἐν τῷ  
παραδείσῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ  
εἶδομεν μεγάλα θαυμάσια ἔθεασά-  
μεθα γὰρ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν  
καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ θρόνον δόξης, καὶ  
30 πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι κυκλοῦντες αὐτόν  
ἔθεασάμεθα καὶ Ἄβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ  
καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους,

1 and 2 Evidently there stood here some form of the name Mermedonia —  
3 dormientem cf l 28, circumstantem, l 34, dicentes — 12 quas for quas1 —  
19 quaecumque? — 21 sommo gramori for somno grauiori descenderunt? —  
28 Read suae

<sup>1</sup> The readings of the various MSS of the *Πράξεις* are not given, as they differ but slightly from the text printed.

post uos  
unumquemque  
et audiuimus dominum Iesum di-  
centes ad angelos Audide apos-  
35 tolos meos in omnibus que p  
a uobis Haec sunt que (p 87,  
l 14) uidimus pater Andreas et  
cum nos resuscitasti, tunc reddite  
40 sunt animae nostrae in corpore  
nostro

(Cap 18) Et cum haec audis-  
set sanctus Andreandreas, letus  
factus est, qui digni fuerant dis-  
45 cipuli eius haec mirabilia uidere  
Tunc respiciens sanctus Andreas  
in caelum et dixit Domine meus  
Iesu Christe, ego enim scio quia  
non est longe a seruis tuis unde  
50 obsecro te indulgeas michi in unc  
locum Haec dicentem sanctum  
Andream uenit ad eum dominus  
Iesus Christus in effigia pulcer-  
rimi pueri et dixit ei Gaudeas  
55 cum tuis discipulis Et cum ui-  
(p. 88, l. 11)disset sanctum An-  
dream, procidens in terra adora-  
uit eum dicens Indulge michi  
domine Iesu Christe quia ut  
60 hominem te extumau in mari et  
ita tibi locutus sum. quid enim  
pec au domine ut non te michi  
manifestasti in mare? Et domi-  
nus Iesus ait illi Andreas, nichil

καὶ Δαυὶδ ἴδων ᾠδὴν ἐν τῇ κιθάρῃ  
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑθεασάμεθα ἐκεί ὑμᾶς  
35 τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους παρεστη-  
κότας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐξέωθεν ὑμῶν  
ἀγγέλους δώδεκα κυκλοῦντας ὑμᾶς,  
καὶ ἕκαστος ἀγγελὸς ὅπισθεν ἐκά-  
40 στοῦ ὑμῶν ἐστηκώς, καὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι  
ὑμῶν τῇ ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἠκούσαμεν τοῦ  
κυρίου λέγοντος τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὅτι  
Ἀκούετε τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ  
πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῶσω (p 87)  
45 ὑμᾶς Ταῦτά εἰσιν ἃ εἶδαμεν πάτερ  
Ἀνδρέα ἕως οὗ διύπνισας ἡμᾶς  
καὶ ἤνεγκαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ  
σώματι ἡμῶν

(Cap 18) Τότε Ἀνδρέας ἀκού-  
50 σας ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην ὅτι κατη-  
ξιώθησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ  
θαυμάσια ταῦτα θεάσασθαι καὶ  
ἀνυβλέψας Ἀνδρέας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
εἶπεν Ἐμφάνηθί μοι κύριε Ἰησοῦ  
55 Χριστέ ἐγὼ γὰρ γινώσκω ὅτι οὐκ  
εἰ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν δούλων.  
συγχώρησόν μοι κύριε ὃ ἐποίησα  
ὡς γὰρ ἀνθρωπὸν σε τεθέαμαι ἐν  
τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ σοι ὤμι-  
60 λησα νῦν οὖν κύριε φανέρωσόν  
μοι σεαυτὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.  
Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀνδρέου  
παρεγένετο ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν,  
γενόμενος ὅμοιος μικρῷ παιδίῳ  
65 ὥραιοτάτῳ εὐεῖδὲ καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς  
ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· Χαίρει Ἀνδρέα  
ἡμέτερε. Ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρέας θεασάμενος  
αὐτὸν πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύ-  
νησεν αὐτῷ (p. 88) τὸν λέγων· Σηγ-  
70 χώρησόν μοι κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ·  
ὡς γὰρ ἀνθρωπὸν σε εἶδον ἐν τῇ



65 michi peccasti, set ideo hoc tibi  
fecit quia dissisti Non possum  
proficere in triduo in anc ciuitate  
Propterea hoc tibi hostendi qui  
potens sum et omnia possum  
70 facere et unicuique aperire sicut  
michi placet et nunc surge, in-  
gredere in ciuitatem ad Matheum  
fratrem tuum et erue eum de car-  
cere et omnes qui cum eo sunt  
75 peregrini ecce enim dico tibi  
quia multa tormenta tibi habent  
inferre isti nequissimi ut carnes  
tuas in plateas ciuitatis et uicos  
expurgant ita sanguis tuus fluent  
80 in terra sicut aqua, ita ut

θαλάσση καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ ὠμίλησά  
σοι τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ τι ἡμάρτηκα  
κύριέ μου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐφάνερω  
75 σάς μοι σεαυτὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσση,  
Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τῷ  
Ἀνδρέᾳ Οὐχ ἤμαρτες, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά  
σοι ἐποίησα ὅτι εἶπας Οὐ δυνήσο-  
μαι πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν  
80 ἀνθρωποφάγων ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις  
καὶ ὑπέδειξά σοι ὅτι πάντα δυνατός  
εἰμι καὶ ἐκάστῳ φανῆναι καθὼς  
βούλομαι γίνω οὖν ἀνάστα, εἰσελθε  
πρὸς Ματθεῖαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ  
85 ἐξάγαγε αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς  
καὶ πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντας  
ξένους ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὑπο-(p 89)δείκνυμί  
σοι Ἀνδρέα πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν σε  
ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν ἐνδείξονται σοι  
90 ὕβρεις πολλὰς καὶ δεινὰς καὶ ἐπά-  
ξουσίν σοι βασάνους καὶ σκορπί-  
σουσίν σου τὰς σάρκας ἐν ταῖς πλα-  
τείαις καὶ ῥύμαις τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν,  
καὶ τὸ αἷμά σου βεύσει ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν  
95 ὥσπερ ὕδωρ εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν θάνα-  
τον οὐ δύνανταί σοι παρασχεῖν

66 *Read feci* — 68 *Read quia* — 70 *apparere?* — 77 *et?* — 79 *Read expargunt* (*te* *expargunt for* *exspargent*)? *Read tuus* *fluet*

For the sake of convenience in comparison, the Anglo-Saxon prose may also be cited here

pā sē mergen geworden wæs, þā sē hāliga Andrēas licgende wæs  
beforan Marmadonia ceastre, and his discipulōs þær slæpende wæron  
mid him, and hē hīe āweahte, and cwæð, ‘Ārīsað gē, mīne bearn, and  
ongitað Godes mildheortnesse sīo is nū mid ūs geworden Wē witon  
5 þæt ūre Drihten mid ūs wæs on þām scype, and wē hine ne ongēaton,  
hē hine geēaðmēdde swā stēorrēþra, and hē hine ætēowde swā man ūs  
tō costienne’ Sē hāliga Andrēas þā lōcode tō heofonum, and hē cwæð,  
‘Mīn Drihten Hǣlend Crīst, ic wāt þæt þū ne eart feor fram þīnum  
þēowum, and ic þē behēold on þām scype, and ic wæs tō þē sprecende  
10 swā tō men Nū þonne, Drihten, ic þē bidde þæt þū mē þē onȳwe on  
þisse stōwe’ þā þis gecweden wæs, þā Drihten him ætȳwde his onsȳne

on (p 119) fægeres cildes hīwe, and him tō cwæð, ‘Andrēas, gefeoht mid þīnum discipulum’ Sē hālga Andrēas þū hine gebæd and cwæð, ‘Forigif mē, mīn Drihten, þæt ic tō þē spēcende wæs swā tō men, and  
 15 wēn is þæt ic gefirnode, for þon þe ic þē ne ongeat’ Drihten him þa tō cwæð, ‘Andrēas, nǣnig wuht þū gefirnodest, ac for þon ic swā dyde, for þon þū swā cwæde þæt þū hit ne meahtes on ðīm dagum þider gelēan, for þon ic þē swā ætēowde, for þon ic eom mihtig mid worde swā call tō dōnne, and ānra gehwilcum tō ætēowenne swā hwæt swā mē līcað Nū  
 20 þonne arīs, and gā on þā ceastre tō Mathēum þīnum biēþer, and lēt þonne hine of þære ceastre, and ealle þā þe mid him syndon Eno ic þē geafþe, Andrēas, for þon þe manega tintrega hīe þē on bringað, and þinne licha-man geond þisse ceastre lonan hīe tostencaþ swā þæt þīn blōd flōwð ofer eorðan swā swā wæter Tō dēaþe hīe þē willaþ gelædan, ac hī ne magon <sup>1</sup>

An examination of these four passages shows, first of all, that the Latin is almost word for word a translation of the Greek. The inference is therefore unavoidable that we have here a fragment of a version which, in its complete form, must have been a close and entire translation of the *Πράξις*. There are, however, some instructive differences between the Latin and the Greek. In the first place, some form of the name Marmedonia stood at least twice in the Latin translation, though it appears neither in the corresponding passage of the Greek nor elsewhere in that version. The name of Andrew's companion in the Latin is Matthew (cf. l. 72), not Matthias <sup>2</sup>

The phrase *ἐπὶ τῆν γῆν*, l. 4, is omitted in the Latin. In l. 66 the words *Ἀνδρέα ἡμέτερε* are wanting in the Latin, in their stead, however, the Latin has, l. 55, *cum tuis discipulis*, which is found in none of the Greek MSS. In l. 73 the Latin fragment adds *fratrem tuum*, in l. 77 *isti nequissimi*, neither phrase being found in any of the Greek MSS.

Comparing the Latin now with the Anglo-Saxon prose, it will be observed that the Anglo-Saxon has omitted a connected passage of the Latin, ll. 16–45, in which the vision of the disciples of Andrew is related. This, however, as further comparison of the prose with the Greek version and *Andreas* shows, is quite in keeping with the usual method of the Anglo-Saxon prose in omitting the episodes of the action. In matters of detail it will be noted that Marmadonia is mentioned twice (the first

<sup>1</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 118, l. 14—p. 119, l. 17

<sup>2</sup> Of the nine MSS of the *Πράξις*, six read regularly Matthias, two regularly Matthew, and one varies between the two forms of the name. Cf. Bonnet, p. xxi and p. 65, and Lipsius, II, part 2, p. 136

time on p 118, l. 10, just preceding the opening lines of the passage quoted, the second time, in the passage quoted, l 2) as it is in the Latin fragment, and, significantly, in the same context as the Latin. The name of the apostle is of course Matthew in the Anglo-Saxon version. The phrase ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν is omitted in the Anglo-Saxon as it is in the Latin. Again, in l 66, Ἀνδρέα ἡμέτερε has no equivalent in the Latin or the Anglo-Saxon prose. In l 13 the prose adds with the Latin the phrase *mid ðinum discipulum*, which is wanting in the Greek. In l 20 of the prose, *ðinum brōðer* corresponds to the Latin, l. 73, *fratrem tuum*. Though the passages available for comparison are very brief, yet the evidence shows beyond a doubt that the Anglo-Saxon prose and the Latin are to be held together apart from the Greek, and we may reasonably suppose that if the whole of the Latin text had been preserved, it would consistently account for the variations of the Anglo-Saxon prose from the Πράξεις.

As is to be expected from the free nature of verse, the agreements between the Latin fragment and *Andreas* are less striking than those between the Latin and the prose. The most important parallels between the Latin and the prose, however, are also found in the verse. Thus, l 844, Marmadonia is mentioned in the same context as in the Latin and the prose, it is, however, mentioned only once instead of twice as in the other two versions. The name of the apostle is again, throughout, Matthew. In l 914, *mid þās willgedryht* corresponds to the Latin l 55, and Anglo-Saxon prose l 13. In l 940, *þær ðin brōðor is* corresponds to Latin l 73, Anglo-Saxon prose l 20.<sup>1</sup> That the Anglo-Saxon prose could not have been the source of the poem is evident.

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, *Andreas* differs from the prose and the Latin in the following details: in l 927 the name Achaia occurs, not found in the Greek version at all, or the Latin fragment so far as it has been preserved, or in the corresponding passage of the Anglo-Saxon prose. It is not necessary to suppose, however, that the name must have stood in the source of the poem at this place; we may allow the poet sufficient intelligence to have remembered it from its earlier occurrence in l 169, in which context it also appears in the Anglo-Saxon prose. In l 847, *Geseh hē þā on grōte* is a fairly close equivalent of ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, l 4 of the Greek, a phrase omitted in the Latin and the prose. Certain phrases contained in the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon prose are omitted in *Andreas*: e.g. the phrase *ad tentandum nos*, l 12 = Greek l 13 = Anglo-Saxon prose ll 6-7, *non cognovimus eum*, l 9 = Greek ll 9-10 = Anglo-Saxon prose l 5, the sentence *Domine mari*, ll 17-20 = Greek ll 19-22, a part of the connected passage omitted by the prose, is wanting in *Andreas*, although the rest of the passage is found there.

from the fact that there are numerous episodes of *Andreas* which are found in the *Πράξις* but are omitted in the Anglo-Saxon prose. It is probable that the original of *Andreas* presented readings differing somewhat from those of the original of the prose version of the legend. The prose version is important, however, as presenting, in approximately complete form, those readings which hold *Andreas* and the prose together with the hypothetical Latin version, otherwise only fragmentarily preserved. For further detailed comparison of *Andreas* and the *Πράξις*, see Bourauel, pp 74-85.

This argument for a Latin original of *Andreas* may be strengthened by evidence of a somewhat less direct character. To the group consisting of *Andreas*, the Anglo-Saxon prose, and the Latin fragments representing a lost Latin original, designated by Zupitza<sup>1</sup> the Western group, as distinguished from the Greek or Eastern group, belong also two later redactions of the legend. The first of these, contained in the pseudo-Abdias,<sup>2</sup> is very much compressed, the greater part of the story of the *anthropophagi* being omitted. Its affinity to the other versions of the Western group, however, is attested by the fact that Achaia is mentioned as Andrew's province, and Myrmidon (*Myrmidon urbi, Myrmidonem civitatem, apud Myrmidonem*) is the city in which Matthew was made prisoner. The name of the apostle is always Matthew, and the phrase *tuum fratrem*, l. 73 of the Latin fragment, found also in the two Anglo-Saxon versions but wanting in the Greek, occurs likewise in the Abdias. *ut in Myrmidonem civitatem maturaret et fratrem Mathaeum de squalore carceris erueret monuit.*<sup>3</sup>

The second of the later adaptations belonging to the Western group is a complete but very free Latin manuscript version of the Greek, which represents a different form of the legend from the Latin fragments printed above.<sup>4</sup> This complete Latin version is so free that according to Forster it cannot be the source of the Anglo-Saxon prose form of the legend; and, according to Bonnet, for the same reason it affords little help in the construction of the Greek text. It agrees, however, with the Anglo-Saxon prose (and consequently with the other members

<sup>1</sup> *Haupt's Zs* XXX, 175-185

<sup>2</sup> Fabricius, Lab III, pp 457-460

<sup>3</sup> Fabricius, III, 458

<sup>4</sup> Cod Vaticanus lat. 1274, fol 119<sup>b</sup>-160<sup>a</sup>. See Förster, *Herrig's Archiv* XCI, 202 ff, and Bonnet, II, 1, p xxxi. It has not been printed, but the contents are briefly described by Förster.

of the Western group) in giving the name of the apostle as Matthew, the country in which Andrew was teaching as Achaia, and the name of the city of the *anthropophagi* as Mirmidonia (*provincia* or *urbs*) A fuller report of the contents of this version would probably show further agreement with the other representatives of the Western group

Thus there exist these various forms of the legend, held together by features, common to all, which are not found in any of the numerous manuscripts of the Greek version of the legend As these versions all originated in Western Europe, it is an extremely probable inference that there once existed a complete Latin translation of the Greek from which the versions of the Western group were derived <sup>1</sup>

### III

#### SOURCE OF THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

No immediate source for *The Fates of the Apostles* has been discovered In the short personal introduction with which the poem opens the author speaks of gathering his materials from afar,<sup>2</sup> and in the progress of the narrative he refers several times to sources<sup>3</sup> These allusions we may look upon as hardly more than conventional poetic formulæ. For an examination of the type of narrative to which this short poem belongs, and a comparison of it with some of the representative examples of the type, lead to the inference that the author has exaggerated his difficulty in arriving at the information contained in his poem Probably but a single version of what was in his day a well-known form of composition lay before him as he wrote

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the list of the Greek or Eastern group is increased by a Syriac version (Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871, Vol I, the Syriac text, Vol II, pp 93-115, an English translation), an Ethiopic version (Malan, *Certamen Apostolorum*, London, 1871, pp 147-163, cf Lipsius, I, 546 f), and a Coptic version (von Lemm, *Koptische apokryphe Apostelacten*, I, pp 148-166, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom X, Liv 1, St Petersburg, 1890), all of which are fairly close adaptations of the *Πράξεις* To these should probably be added an Old-Slavonic version cited by Harnack, I, 905, from Novaković in *Starine VIII*, 55-69, this version has not been accessible to me, and the description of it by Harnack is too brief to enable one to determine its relation to the other versions

<sup>2</sup> Ll 1-2

<sup>3</sup> Ll 23, 63, 70

As early as the fifth century complete lists of the Twelve Apostles were current, held together by brief accounts of their missions, their sufferings, and the places of their death. It was evidently some such list as this that the poet of *The Fates of the Apostles* followed in the composition of his poem.<sup>1</sup> That it was a list written in Latin is evident<sup>2</sup> from the case forms of the proper names in the poem, e.g. *Geaiopolim, Albano, Nerones*. But it has also been shown<sup>3</sup> that none of the extant versions of the Latin lists is the single source of the poem. All the details of it, however, as may be seen from the following extracts, may be derived, with but one exception, from the martyrology of Bede<sup>4</sup> and from the *Breviarium Apostolorum*.<sup>5</sup> Both Bede and the *Breviarium* give numerous details (omitted in the analysis) which are not found in *The Fates of the Apostles*, but the poem, with the one exception to be noticed later and a few passages of a personal character, contains nothing that is not also in these two Latin lists. In the martyrology of Bede the order of the names is chronological, the notices of the various apostles being thus distributed over the whole calendar, the order in the *Breviarium*, as compared with *The Fates of the Apostles*, is indicated by the numbers prefixed to the names.

Bede's *Martyrologium*

III Kalend Jul Romae natale  
Petri et Pauli sub Nerone

Prid Kalend. Decemb In civitate Patras provinciae Achaiae, natale . Andreae Egea proconsule emittens spiritum perrexit ad Dominum.

VI Kalend. Jan Natale Joannem quem Dominus Jesus amavit

*Breviarium*

1-2 Simon Petrus Romam pervenit sub Nerone Caesare cruce suspensus est Paulus . . sub Nerone eodem die quo et Petrus capite truncatus

3. Andreas . praedicavit per Scythiam et Achaiam, ibique in civitate Patras cruce suspensus occubuit pridie Kal Decembris

5 Joannes . . dilectus Domini, praedicator Asiae et in Epheso

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the origin and history of this form of apocryphal literature, see Lipsius, I, 192 ff

<sup>2</sup> Sarrazin, *Anglia* XII, 381

<sup>3</sup> Sarrazin, *Anglia* XII, 379-382, Bourauel, pp 101-107

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *Patrolog Lat* XCIV, col 797 ff

<sup>5</sup> Described by Lipsius from numerous MSS, I, 211-212. A complete text may be found in Gerbert, *Monumenta veteris Liturgiae Allemannicae*, 1777. It is also quoted in detail by Bourauel, p 101 ff., from whom my citations are made.

plurimum rediit Ephesum  
 totas Asiae fundavit ieritque Eccle-  
 sias aetatis autem suae nona-  
 gesimo nono mortuus, iuxta eandem  
 urbem est sepultus

VIII Kalend Aug Natale  
 Jacobi filii Zebedaei In Cilicia  
 sub Dagno rege martyrium  
 capitis obruncatione complevit

Kalend Maii Natale Philippi  
 et Jacobi Philippus reversus  
 est ad Asiam, et apud Hierapolim  
 dormivit in pace (For James see  
 below)

IX Kalend Septem Natale  
 Bartholomaei apud Indiam  
 praedicans, vivus a barbaris decora-  
 tus est, atque jussu regis Astragis  
 decollatus

XII Kalend Jan Natale  
 Thomae qui Parthis et Medis  
 praedicans, passus est in India

XI Kalend Oct Natale  
 Matthaei qui primus in Judaea  
 Evangelium Hebraeo sermone  
 conscripsit apud Aethiopiam  
 praedicavit missus est spicula-  
 tor ab Hirtaco rege, qui eum gladio  
 feriebat efficiens martyrem Christi

Kalend Maii Jacobus qui et  
 frater domini legitur ab apostolis  
 Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus  
 est Hunc scribae et pharisaei  
 praecipitaverunt de pinna templi,  
 fullonis in cerebro percussus fuste  
 occubuit

V Kalend Novemb Natale  
 Simonis Chananaei, qui et Zelotes  
 scribitur, et Thadaei, qui etiam Judas

4 Jacobus " filius Zebedaei,  
 frater Joannis Hic sub Herode  
 gladio caesus occubuit

7 Philippus Gallis praedicavit  
 Christum deinde in Hierapoli Phry-  
 giae provinciae crucifixus et lapida-  
 tus obiit

9 Bartholomaeus apostolus  
 ad ultimum in Albano maioris Ar-  
 meniae urbe per iussum regis  
 Astryagis decollatur, sicque terra  
 conditur IX Kal Sept

6 Thomas Parthus et Medis  
 praedicator ad orientalem pla-  
 gam Lancea ibi transfixus oc-  
 cubuit in Calaminice, Indiae civitate,  
 ibi sepultus est in honore XII Kal  
 Jan

10 Matthaeus apost et evang  
 primum quidem in Judaea evangeli-  
 zavit, postmodum in Macedonia, et  
 passus in Persida requiescit in mon-  
 tibus Portorum, XI Kal Oct

8 Jacobus, frater Domini Hiero-  
 solymorum primus Episcopus,  
 de templo a Judaeis praecipitatur,  
 ibique humatur

11-12 Simon Zelotes accept  
 Aegypti principatum cathedram  
 dicitur tenuisse Hierosolymorum

Jacobi legitur, et alibi appellatur  
Lebbaeus Thadaeus apud Mesopotamiam,  
Simon vero apud Aegyptum traditur  
praedicasse inde simul Persidam ingressi martyrium ibi  
beato certamine consummaverunt

meruit sub Adriano per crucem sustinere  
martyrii passionem Jacet in Portoforo  
Judas in Mesopotamia atque in interioribus  
Ponti praedicavit sepultus est in Merito  
Armeniae urbe

A comparison of these passages from Bede's *Martyrologium* and the *Breviarium* with *The Fates of the Apostles* will show that all the incidents of the poem which relate to the various apostles might have been derived from Bede, except the account of the death of the fifth apostle, James, the brother of John, which agrees with the account of the *Breviarium*,<sup>1</sup> and the allusion to the awakening of Gad, in the notice of the eighth apostle, Thomas, an incident mentioned neither in Bede nor the *Breviarium*. It will be observed, also, that *The Fates of the Apostles* agrees frequently with Bede when Bede differs from the *Breviarium*. It seems extremely probable, therefore, that the author of *The Fates of the Apostles* had before him not, presumably, Bede's *Martyrologium*, but the list or lists which Bede used in the preparation of his *Martyrologium*. The items of these lists were probably arranged not as they are in Bede, according to the calendar, but somewhat as they are presented in the poem and the *Breviarium*.

The one important addition of *The Fates of the Apostles*, the allusion to the awakening of Gad, may have been in the common sources of Bede and *The Fates of the Apostles*, or, more likely, it may have been added from the author's own stock of information. Its ultimate origin is the longer apocryphal narrative of the Acts of Thomas, the Παῖξος Θωμᾶ,<sup>2</sup> one of the group of apocryphal narratives from which the lists of the apostles were originally made.

The poem cannot have had any of the practical purpose of the *Martyrologium* or *Breviarium*, or of the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium*,<sup>3</sup> since it gives none of the dates of the feasts of the various apostles. The motive which inspired its composition was, therefore, purely literary and devotional.

<sup>1</sup> See ll 33<sup>b</sup>-37<sup>a</sup>, note, for the source of the account of the death of this James.

<sup>2</sup> Tischendorf, *Acta Apost. Apoc.*, p. 190 ff., Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. II., pp. 99-287. The story of Gad is mentioned in the account of Thomas given in the *Old English Martyrology*, ed. Herzfeld, E. E. T. S., CXVI, 220; but the name Gad does not occur, nor is the phrasing of the narrative at all similar to that of *The Fates of the Apostles*. Cf. also Lipsius, I, 253.

<sup>3</sup> See Imelmann, *Das altenglische Menologium*, pp. 38-40.



## IV

AUTHORSHIP OF ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE  
APOSTLES

No Anglo-Saxon poem has been the subject of more widely divergent discussion with respect to authorship than *Andreas*. The earlier critics generally assigned the poem, without much hesitation but on very insufficient grounds, to Cynewulf. Thus Grimm<sup>1</sup> (1840) thought first that *Andreas* and *Elene* were by the same author, since they are preserved in the same manuscript, are similar in spirit and contents, and have similar characteristics of language. He adds later, however, that it is at most only possible, not highly probable, that the poems are from the same hand. If *Andreas* is not to be assigned to the author of *Elene*, he inclines toward the alternative opinion that it was composed by Aldhelm. Kemble<sup>2</sup> (1843) speaks more dogmatically than Grimm. "There cannot be a doubt that this Cynewulf [who signs his name to *Elene*] was the author of the poem *Elene*, probably of all the rest [of the poems in the Vercelli book] and those likewise which occur in the other collection [the Exeter book], and it becomes a matter of much interest to decide who he was." He fixes upon Cynewulf, abbot of Peterborough (d. 1014), as most probably the author.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P 1 ff<sup>2</sup> P VIII

<sup>3</sup> Thorpe (1844), *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, The First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric* I, 622, repeats Kemble's opinion. Etmuller (1847, 1850), *Handbuch* I, 132 ff, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas*, p. xi, assigns *Andreas* with probability to the same author as *Elene*, basing his opinion on the similarity of language between the two poems. Dietrich (1853), *Haupt's Zs* XI, 210, assigns *Andreas* tentatively to Cynewulf. In a second study, *Kynewulfi Poetae Aetas*, Marburg, 1860, p. 5, after commenting on Grimm's list of parallels and differences between *Andreas* and *Elene*, he endeavors to show that by bringing into the discussion other poems of Cynewulf's, as *Juliana* and *Christ*, the differences are explained and Cynewulf's authorship of *Andreas* is confirmed. Rieger (1869), *Zacher's Zs* I, 319, follows Dietrich in assigning the longer poems of the Exeter and Vercelli manuscripts to Cynewulf. Sweet (1871), in Warton, *Hist of Eng Poetry* II, 16, assigns *Andreas*, together with numerous other pieces, to Cynewulf. He thinks it most probable that the conclusion of *Andreas* is wanting and that, in its complete state, it contained an epilogue similar to that in *Elene*. The two poems are by the same author, he concludes, "from their marked resemblance of language and style." Grein (1874), *Kuragefasste angels Gram*, Kassel, 1880 (published from lectures delivered in 1874), p. 12, assigns *Andreas*, *Juliana*,

The first detailed attempt to establish the authorship of *Andreas* was Fritzsche's<sup>1</sup> (1879). Fritzsche studied the poem from various points of view: (1) its relation to its source, (2) the nature of the subject matter, which he takes to be more legendary and marvelous than one would expect in Cynewulf, (3) the metre, (4) style and language, (5) vocabulary, (6) parallelisms between *Andreas* and other Anglo-Saxon poems. His conclusions are (p. 57) that the author of *Andreas* modeled his poem chiefly after *Beowulf* and the poems of Cynewulf, that the poet was an imitator or pupil of Cynewulf, and that, while the works of Cynewulf belong to the flowering period of Anglo-Saxon poetry, *Andreas* belongs to a later time when poetry was passing into a period of decay. Fritzsche's discussion has considerable power of conviction, and its influence is strongly felt in succeeding expressions of opinion.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Ramhorst<sup>3</sup> (1885), taking up Fritzsche's argument point by point, endeavors (in most instances unsuccessfully) to disprove it, and arrives at the opposite conclusion, that *Andreas* was composed by Cynewulf. The argument shifts to the other side again with Sievers<sup>4</sup> (1885), who points out that the dative *fæder*, required by the metre in l. 1410, cannot be paralleled in

*Guðlac*, and *Elene* to Cynewulf, but gives no reasons for his decision. Hammerich (1874), *Alteste christliche Epik*, tr. Michelsen, p. 97, sees no decisive reason for giving either *Andreas* or *Guðlac* to Cynewulf. Ten Brink (1877), *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, tr. Kennedy, p. 58, gives *Andreas* to Cynewulf. But Wulker (1878), *Anglia* I, 506, and Chartius (1879), *Anglia* II, 265, do not include the poem in their list of Cynewulf's works.

<sup>1</sup> *Das angels. Gedicht Andreas und Cynewulf*, Halle, 1879, also *Anglia* II, 441-496.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in the appendix to Ten Brink, p. 389, written after the appearance of Fritzsche's essay, the argument is said to be "calculated to raise serious doubts concerning Cynewulf's authorship." And Müller (1883), *Angels Gram.*, p. 26, Lefevre (1883), *Anglia* VI, 184, and Ebert (1887), *Allgemeine Geschichte d. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, p. 69, accept Fritzsche's conclusions more or less unreservedly. Holtbuer, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetivus in Andreas, Guðlac, etc.*, Halle, 1884, also in *Anglia* VIII, 1-40, as the result of his own investigations, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf. Earle (1884), *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, p. 226, returns to the old view that all the poems of the Vercelli book are by Cynewulf, the fact, he says, that *Elene* is the last poem of the volume, and is signed, "naturally suggests the inference, which indeed is generally accepted, that all the poems in the Vercelli book are by Cynewulf."

<sup>3</sup> *Das altenglische Gedicht vom heiligen Andreas*, Berlin, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> *PBB* X, 483.

Cynewulf's works Cremer<sup>1</sup> (1888) and Mather<sup>2</sup> (1892) find also that the metre and language incline slightly towards the theory of non-Cynewulfian authorship of *Andreas*

A new and important element was added to the discussion in 1888 by Napier's discovery of the runic passage on fol 54<sup>a</sup> of the manuscript<sup>3</sup> Napier sees in this passage a conclusion to *The Fates of the Apostles*, and assigns that poem without question to Cynewulf He draws no inferences, however, as to the authorship of *Andreas* Sarrazin<sup>4</sup> (1889), who on the basis of comparisons of phraseology had assigned *Andreas* to Cynewulf before the discovery of the runic fragment,<sup>5</sup> was the first to regard<sup>6</sup> *The Fates of the Apostles* as the conclusion of *Andreas*, and, in consequence, the whole as the work of Cynewulf This opinion, in slightly varying forms, has been enounced by numerous others<sup>7</sup> But it has by no means passed without question Wulker<sup>8</sup> (1888, 1896) regards *The Fates of the Apostles* as a separate and distinct poem from *Andreas*, the latter poem he ascribes, as Fritzsche had done, not to Cynewulf, but to an imitator Sievers<sup>9</sup> (1891), returning to the subject, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf, and in this negation sees one of the few undoubted results of investigations concerning questions of authorship in Anglo-Saxon literature Brooke<sup>10</sup> (1892) is inclined, for stylistic reasons, to follow Fritzsche's opinion, in the note to his text, however, he shifts ground to the position that though it is "extremely likely that the *Andreas* is by Cynewulf, we have as yet no evidence for that opinion" In a later

<sup>1</sup> *Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchungen der alteng Ged Andreas, Guðlac, Phænix*, Bonn, 1888

<sup>2</sup> *MLN* VII, 106

<sup>3</sup> First announced in the *Academy*, September 8, 1888 The passage is printed and discussed by Napier in *Haupt's Zs* XXXIII, 66-73

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia* XII, 375-387

<sup>5</sup> *Beowulf-Studien*, Berlin, 1888, p 114

<sup>6</sup> Cf *Angl Beibl* VII, 372, *Wer hat die 'Schicksale der Apostel' zuerst für den schluss des Andreas erklärt?*

<sup>7</sup> By Gollancz (1892), *Cynewulf's Christ*, p 173, by Trautmann (1895, 1898), in *Angl Beibl* VI, 17 ff, *Bonn Beitr* I, 9, by Kolbing (1899), *Eng Stud* XXVI, 99-101, by Simons (1899), "Cynewulf's Wortschatz," in *Bonn Beitr* III, 1, by Bouraueil (1900), p 132, and by Skeat (1901), *English Miscellany*, pp 408-420

<sup>8</sup> *Berichte d Königl Sachs Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil Hist Classe*, 1888, p 212, *Geschichte d eng Lit*, pp 39, 45

<sup>9</sup> *Anglia* XIII, 25

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. of Eng Lit*, p 413, p 489.

utterance<sup>1</sup> he is inclined to give credence to the views of Sarrazin Brandl<sup>2</sup> (1898) refuses to connect *The Fates of the Apostles* with *Andreas*, but regards the former as a separate poem, the subject of which is a traveler's charm<sup>3</sup> Professor Cook, who first declared that "there can hardly be much doubt that the *Andreas* is to be given to Cynewulf,"<sup>4</sup> later modified his opinions, saying, "I am strongly inclined to assign the *Andreas* to Cynewulf, though I hesitate to express a positive opinion, in the present state of our knowledge, especially against Fritzsche's hypothesis of a close imitation."<sup>5</sup>

Manifestly the first thing to be done in order to clear the ground for a just estimate of the mass of argumentation represented by the above-mentioned discussions is to determine the relation of the runic signature to *The Fates of the Apostles* and the relation of *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. For if *The Fates of the Apostles*, with the runic signature, is merely an epilogue or concluding section of *Andreas*, we have indication of the first importance as to the authorship of the poem. The evidence which must be weighed here is of two sorts. first, the mere mechanical arrangement of the poems in the manuscript, and second, the evidence of the internal relation of subject matter in the two poems.

According to Skeat,<sup>6</sup> "if we go by the testimony of the MS itself, we must allow that the first poem in the MS. occupies the back of fol. 29, fol. 30-53, and fol. 54, recto, where it ends with the word FINRI, below which is a blank space sufficient to contain six more lines. And further that this poem consists of 1840 lines, disposed in 16 Fits, of about 115 lines apiece, on an average." The record of the manuscript is briefly as follows: the *Andreas*, which, as Skeat says, begins the first section of poetry in the manuscript, extends from the first line of fol. 29<sup>b</sup> to the middle of fol. 52<sup>b</sup>. It is divided into fifteen sections of approximately equal length.<sup>7</sup> The sections are separated from each

<sup>1</sup> *Eng. Lit. from the Beginning*, p. 187.      <sup>2</sup> *Herrig's Archiv C*, 330-334.

<sup>3</sup> Arnold (1898), *Notes on Beowulf*, pp. 121-126, Büttenwieser (1899), *Studien*, p. 86, and Binz, *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 389, are all convinced that *Andreas* is not by Cynewulf.

<sup>4</sup> *MLN*, IV, 7 (January, 1889).

<sup>5</sup> *The Christ of Cynewulf*, 1900, p. lxi.

<sup>6</sup> *l. c.*, p. 412.

<sup>7</sup> These sections are as follows: (1) fol. 29<sup>b</sup> top-fol. 30<sup>b</sup> bot.; (2) fol. 30<sup>b</sup> bot-fol. 32<sup>a</sup> top; (3) fol. 32<sup>a</sup> top-fol. 33<sup>b</sup> mid; (4) fol. 33<sup>b</sup> mid-fol. 35<sup>a</sup> bot.; (5) fol. 35<sup>a</sup> bot-fol. 37<sup>a</sup> mid.; (6) fol. 37<sup>a</sup> mid-fol. 38<sup>b</sup> top; (7) fol. 38<sup>b</sup> top-fol. 40<sup>a</sup> mid.; (8) fol. 40<sup>a</sup> mid.-fol. 41<sup>b</sup> bot.; (9) fol. 42<sup>a</sup> top-fol. 43<sup>a</sup> bot.; (10) fol.

other by a blank space sufficient to contain one line. Each section begins with a large capital letter, the remaining letters of the first word being written in smaller capitals, these large capitals are all written out in the manuscript, except the opening letter of the twelfth section, fol 46<sup>a</sup>, where the letter A stands alone, S, miswritten for Ð, having been erased, though the right letter was not afterwards inserted. Each section also ends with a distinctive mark of punctuation, usually a colon with a hook-shaped dash following it.

*The Fates of the Apostles* follows immediately after the conclusion of *Andreas*, the usual blank space being left between *Andreas* and the opening of *The Fates of the Apostles*. The first letter of the first word (*Hwæt*) is wanting, though space is left, extending down through five lines, for its insertion, the remaining letters of the word are given in smaller capitals. The narrative begins at the middle of fol 52<sup>b</sup> and extends without interruption in the manuscript to about three fourths of the way down fol 54<sup>a</sup>, where it ends with FINIT and a period. The remainder of the page, sufficient to contain six lines, is left blank. The runic passage stands on this last folio (fol. 54<sup>a</sup>) by itself, beginning with the words, *Hēr mæg findan*, etc. It begins on the first line of the folio, without a capital or any other indication of a new beginning, nor is there any punctuation after the last word of fol 53<sup>b</sup>.

From this examination it will be seen that there is no indication in the manuscript that the runic passage is anything other than a direct and uninterrupted continuation of *The Fates of the Apostles*, or that *The Fates of the Apostles*, together with this passage, stands in any other relation to *Andreas* than do the sections of *Andreas* to each other. A further examination, however, of the scribe's method of ordering other groups of poems in the manuscript, will show that there is no indication that *The Fates of the Apostles* must be taken as a part of a larger whole. On fol 101<sup>b</sup>–fol. 106<sup>r</sup> there is a group of three poems that no one has ever thought of uniting. The first (*Dialogue between the Soul and the Body*) begins with a large capital on the first line of fol. 101<sup>b</sup>, on fol. 103<sup>a</sup>, near the bottom of the page, there is a sectional division, the last word of the section ending with the same mark of punctuation as that used in the first poem or poems of the

43<sup>a</sup> bot–fol 44<sup>b</sup> mid., (11) fol 44<sup>b</sup> mid–fol 46<sup>r</sup> mid ; (12) fol 46<sup>a</sup> mid–fol 47<sup>b</sup> top; (13) fol 47<sup>b</sup> top–fol. 49<sup>a</sup> bot , (14) fol 49<sup>a</sup> bot–fol 51<sup>a</sup> top, (15) fol 51<sup>r</sup> top–fol 52<sup>b</sup> mid

manuscript, and followed by the usual blank space. The second section begins with a capital Ð. The conclusion of this second section, and of the poem, is wanting in the manuscript, as the poem breaks off abruptly at the end of fol. 103<sup>b</sup>. The same missing folio must have contained the opening of the second poem of the group (*Sermon in verse on Ps XXVIII*), for fol. 104<sup>a</sup> opens abruptly with no indication that a new subject has been introduced. This fragmentary poem concludes on fol. 104<sup>b</sup>, near the top, with the usual mark of punctuation and the usual blank space. The third poem of the group (*Vision of the Cross*) begins with a large capital near the top of fol. 104<sup>b</sup> and continues without break to the foot of fol. 106<sup>a</sup>, where it ends with the usual mark of punctuation, the poem fills up the whole page, only a part of the last line being left blank. On fol. 106<sup>b</sup> then begins a group of prose selections. It will be seen, therefore, that if we observe merely the mechanical ordering of the poems in the manuscript, there is quite as much justification for declaring the three poems of the second group a single poem as for declaring *The Fates of the Apostles* a necessary part of *Andreas*, for the scribe uses exactly the same method in marking off sections of a poem that he uses in separating entirely different poems. The fact that a space of six lines is left vacant on fol. 54<sup>a</sup> is no indication that the scribe wishes to mark the end of a poem, for the second group of poems in the manuscript shows that it is not his usual method thus to mark the end of a poem. The space is left blank, we may suppose, first of all because it is a short space, and second because the next section of the manuscript was to be devoted to prose and not to verse selections. At the conclusion of *Elene*, fol. 133<sup>b</sup>, which is followed immediately by the prose life of St Guthlac, the scribe did not leave the rest of the page blank as he had done at the end of *The Fates of the Apostles*, fol. 54<sup>a</sup>, but the reason is plain. On fol. 54<sup>a</sup> it required nineteen lines of his page in order to finish the poem in hand, leaving space for only six lines; on fol. 133<sup>b</sup> only six lines of the page were needed in order to finish the poem, leaving space for twenty-five lines (the writing here being much finer than in the earlier part of the manuscript). The wasting of twenty-five lines must have seemed a needless extravagance to the scribe.

The third and last section of poetry in the manuscript, extending from the first line of fol. 121<sup>a</sup> down through the sixth line of fol. 133<sup>b</sup>, contains the single poem *Elene*. The poem is divided into sections

just as *Andreas* is divided, each section beginning with capitals, ending with the usual mark of punctuation, and separated from the preceding and following sections by the usual blank space. The sections here, however, are numbered with roman numerals from one to fifteen inclusive,<sup>1</sup> apparently by the original scribe of the manuscript. Section fourteen, which concludes the actual narrative of the poem, ends with FINIT and the usual mark of punctuation. Section fifteen is a sort of personal epilogue in which occurs the passage containing the runes that form the name Cynewulf. This section concludes with a second ending, AMEN, followed by the usual punctuation. Immediately following the conclusion of the section, but separated from it by the usual blank space, comes the opening of the prose life of St Guthlac, which is without number. Sarrazin<sup>2</sup> is therefore not exact when he says that the epilogue of *Elene* stands "ausserlich und innerlich" in the same relation to the body of the poem as *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. In the manuscript record of *Elene* there is distinct evidence, in the consecutive numbering of the sections, that they are to be taken as parts of a single poem. The double-colophon is also peculiar to *Elene*. The ending of section fourteen with FINIT may be a mere reflection of the source of the poem, for indeed the actual narrative does end with that section. After the epilogue was added, the poet, not wishing to repeat his former ending, finishes with AMEN. Fortunately, in the case of *Elene* the testimony of the subject matter leaves no doubt that the fifteenth section is an integral part of the poem, in this respect also Sarrazin makes too much of the parallel between *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* on the one hand and *Elene* and its concluding section on the other.

We cannot agree, therefore, with Professor Skeat and others, that the manuscript speaks decisively in favor of accepting *The Fates of the Apostles* as an integral part of *Andreas*. At the most the manuscript merely permits the theory but speaks decisively neither one way nor the other. All that it allows us to say is that from fol. 29<sup>b</sup> to fol. 54<sup>a</sup> we have a poem or a group of poems, written out in orderly fashion and ending with a FINIT and a blank space on the last page.

An examination of the subject matter of the two poems in their relation to each other results in a somewhat more positive conclusion. In

<sup>1</sup> The numbers are omitted in sections eleven and twelve.

<sup>2</sup> *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 205

general two main theories have been proposed by which *The Fates of the Apostles* is to be united to *Andreas*. According to the first (supported chiefly by Sarrazin, Trautmann, and Gollancz) *The Fates of the Apostles* is not an integral part of the narrative of *Andreas*, but an addition or epilogue, standing in the same relation to *Andreas* as the epilogue of *Elene* to that poem. According to the second theory, supported chiefly by Skeat,<sup>1</sup> *The Fates of the Apostles* is a necessary part of the plot and action of *Andreas*.

The title of this longer poem (to take up the second theory first), consisting of *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* united, should be, Professor Skeat contends, not *Andreas*, but *The Twelve Apostles*. The writer of the poem announces his subject in the opening lines *twelfe under tunglum*. Of these twelve he takes up St. Matthew first, St. Andrew being mentioned for the first time in l. 169. "When St. Matthew is thus happily disposed of [but St. Matthew is not disposed of until ll. 1050 ff.], the story of St. Andrew, henceforth considered as the *principal* hero, really begins" (p. 414). When he has finished the special story of St. Andrew, continues Skeat, the poet reverts to his original theme. "But finding by this time that the apostles cannot all be discoursed of at the same length as St. Matthew and St. Andrew, he cuts the story short by the ingenious device of giving, not their whole legends, but merely a brief account of how each one came to his end. As neither St. Matthew nor St. Andrew were killed off in Fits 1-15, it became necessary to give each of these a few lines more. We thus learn that St. Matthew was executed (put to sleep by weapons) and that St. Andrew was crucified (was extended on the gallows) "

One hesitates to take all this seriously. For, accepting this theory, we have a poem on a great topic so loosely put together that it can hardly be said to have any coherence or unity at all, and such inarticulate work Professor Skeat would have us ascribe to Cynewulf. Furthermore, a glance at the sources of the two poems shows that the theory supposes a degree of unification and adaptation of these sources either beyond the powers or the purpose of the author or authors who composed the poems. In neither poem is there any indication that the poet thought he was composing a great epic on the Twelve Apostles; he was simply retelling a story as he had found it. The poet of *Andreas* mentioned the twelve in opening his poem because his source mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *English Miscellany*, pp. 408-420



them, but even if this were not true, we need no more suppose that he intended writing in detail on each of the twelve, than that the poet of *Beowulf* intended giving us the life-histories of those heroes — *Heorogār and Hrōðgār and Hālgā tū*— and the others who are mentioned before the real action of the poem begins. The author of *Andreas* treated of Matthew first because his source did so, he gave most of his attention to Andrew because he followed his source, and when he had finished the story of St Andrew he stopped because his source stopped. And indeed it was an appropriate ending. The narrative had brought Andrew out of the land of Achaia, had related his adventures in the city of the *anthropophagi*, and had closed with the return of the saint to the place from which he had set out. One feels that the story is closed, it has its peroration and nothing more is needed or expected. The poet of *The Fates of the Apostles*, whether the same person as the poet of *Andreas* or not, we may be sure followed his source quite as closely.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the opening passages of the two poems are very much alike, and are evidently fashioned either on the same model or one on the other, is rather an indication that the passages introduce two separate poems than two sections of the same poem, the allusion to the twelve at the opening of *The Fates of the Apostles* cannot be taken, as Professor Skeat would take it, as a resumption and repetition of the subject as announced in the opening lines of *Andreas*, for the introduction to *The Fates of the Apostles* actually gives the subject of the narrative that follows, whereas the introduction to *Andreas* is purely preliminary and outside the real narrative of the poem. There is, in short, not the slightest indication in either poem of an endeavor to fuse the old material into a single tale of the fates of all Twelve Apostles. If the scribe of the *Vercelli Book* had happened to place *The Fates of the Apostles* in the second or third section of poetry in the manuscript, instead of in the first and immediately following *Andreas*, I doubt if it would ever have occurred to the ingenuity of any one to look upon it as a part of the story of *Andreas*.

The contents of *The Fates of the Apostles* in relation to the narrative of *Andreas* must now be examined, for if *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* are not to be taken as one long poem on the Twelve Apostles, it is still possible, as Gollancz suggests, that *The Fates of the Apostles* is an appendix or epilogue to *Andreas*. As opposed to such

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp xxix ff

a theory it is to be noted, first, that *Andreas* ends with a definite and appropriate conclusion, with no indication of anything to follow, and, second, that *The Fates of the Apostles* opens with an entirely new beginning, followed by a regularly developed narrative and conclusion which is dependent in no respect on any preceding narrative. The opening of *The Fates of the Apostles* is not merely the exclamation *hwæt*, followed by an immediate resumption of the narrative, as in *Andreas*, l. 1478, but an elaborate formal beginning parallel to the opening of *Andreas* itself. Sievers<sup>1</sup> first pointed out the likeness between these two openings, showing that both are imitations of the opening lines of *Beowulf*. Such similarity is, of course, no indication that the two passages belong to the same poem, for, granted that they are by the same author, it is less likely that an author would repeat himself so plainly within the bounds of a single poem than in two separate poems.

In these opening lines of *The Fates of the Apostles*, ll. 1-11<sup>1</sup>, the poet announces his subject. In the first line of this passage, *Bysne sang* is logically inseparable from what follows — *hū bā æðelungas*, l. 3, and its elaboration. It cannot be translated 'the above or preceding song,'<sup>2</sup> because the phrases with which it is coordinate in ll. 3 ff. do not describe the action of *Andreas*, though they do describe very closely the action of *The Fates of the Apostles*. The poem begins, therefore, without any allusion to preceding action, either to the *Andreas* or to any other subject. Again, in the narrative which follows immediately after this introductory passage, Andrew comes third in the list, as is usual in such compositions, whereas Matthew, entirely disconnected from him, comes ninth. Nowhere is there any allusion to the narrative of *Andreas*, or any indication that the author knew the story of *Andreas* or that he had treated of these two apostles elsewhere. In the account of Andrew stress is laid upon his death at the hands of Egeas, a name and incident unknown to *Andreas*, in the account of Matthew we are told of his death at the hands of Irtacus, also unknown to *Andreas*. Matthew is said to have preached *mid Sigelwarum*, l. 64, i.e. in Ethiopia (cf. note to *Ap.* 64), in *Andreas*, Andrew announces the end of their journey to his followers as *on Ælmyrcna ðeðlricc*, l. 432. The allusion in *The Fates of the Apostles* is evidently derived from its source (cf. p. xxxi); no equivalent is found in the *Πράξις* for the statement of l. 432 of *Andreas*.

<sup>1</sup> *PBB* IX, 135

<sup>2</sup> Bourauel, p. 132, 'das obige Gedicht.'

It might easily be derived, however, from common stock of tradition, and at the most indicates, not that the author of *The Fates of the Apostles* wrote also *Andreas*, but that the author of *Andreas* may possibly have known *The Fates of the Apostles*. The name Mermedonia is not mentioned in *The Fates of the Apostles*. Finally, after the list of the Twelve Apostles is completed, *The Fates of the Apostles* ends with an appropriate conclusion, which, freely translated, runs as follows: 'Thus these noble ones, the great-minded twelve, perished, fame unending these thanes of glory won in the spirit. Now then I pray that he who loves the study of this song petition that holy throng [i.e. the twelve] for help for me, sad of heart, for protection and for aid. Alas! I shall have need of friends, of kindly disposed ones, on my journey, when, alone, I seek my long home, that strange habitation, leave behind me my body, this portion of earth, this corpse as a feast for worms.' After this passage, ll. 85-95, follows a second conclusion in which the poet gives the runes which form his name. Here, he says, the skilled in perception may find, he who takes pleasure in songs, who made this poem (*lās fitte*, l. 98). The runes then follow, in a passage the thought of which is the transitoriness of earthly possessions. In a few concluding lines (ll. 107 ff.) the poet returns to the request of the preceding passage, ll. 88 ff. 'Be mindful of this, he who loves the study of this poem, that he beseech for me comfort and aid. Far hence must I, all alone, seek a new habitation, undertake a journey, I know not myself whither, out of this world. Those dwellings are unknown to me, that land and that home. It is so with every man unless he be partaker of the holy spirit. But let us the more zealously cry unto God, let us send our prayers into the bright heaven (*gesceaft*, l. 116), that we may enjoy that habitation, that home on high, where are the greatest of joys, where the King of angels yields to the poor unending reward. Now his praise remain forever great and glorious, together with his power eternal and ever renewed, throughout all creation!' It will be noted that in the passage which might be called the first conclusion (i.e. ll. 88-95) there is specific reference to the subject matter of *The Fates of the Apostles*, but no reference is made to the action of *Andreas*. In the second ending, however, there is direct allusion neither to *The Fates of the Apostles* nor to *Andreas*. The passage is entirely disconnected from any preceding narrative, and might easily belong to *The Fates of the Apostles*, or to *Andreas*, or to neither. In *The Fates of the Apostles*,

therefore, as in *Andreas*, a single narrative is appropriately introduced, is consistently developed, and (except for the double ending, which will be discussed later) is brought to a satisfactory conclusion, nothing in the one is needed to explain the details of the action of the other.

Certain expressions of *The Fates of the Apostles* have been supposed to refer back to *Andreas*. Thus, (1) according to Trautmann,<sup>1</sup> the phrases *Bysses guddes begang*, *Ap.* l. 89, and *Bysses galdres begang*, *Ap.* l. 108, cannot refer to *The Fates of the Apostles*, because the word *begang* connotes the meaning 'long, extended,' the whole phrase meaning 'this long poem,' a description which cannot apply to the 130 lines of *The Fates of the Apostles*, but which applies very aptly to *The Fates of the Apostles* as a part of *Andreas*. The meaning 'long' or 'extended' which Trautmann finds in the word *begang* he derives from its use in such combinations as *swegles begang*, *gärseeges b.*, *flōda b.*, *geofones b.*, *holma b.*, *wyrda b.*, and others. But the idea of wide extent in these phrases comes not from the meaning of the word *begang*, but from the word with which it is united, by itself *begang* means only 'extent, space, circuit,' as the dictionaries define it. When combined with the name of an object of small extent it means no more than when combined with the name of an object of great extent.<sup>2</sup> (2) Bourauel<sup>3</sup> sees a verbal allusion to *Andreas* in the words *bās fitte*, l. 98, which he takes to be accusative plural — 'these sections.' The sections, according to Bourauel, are three, *An.* 1-1477, *An.* 1478-1722, and *Ap.* 1 ff., each section being indicated by the exclamation *hwæt* at the beginning. It is true that mere grammar permits *bās fitte* to be taken as accusative plural, but it is equally true that the words may be taken as accusative singular. If the poet had been speaking to us of "sections," or even of a long poem on St. Andrew, there might be some reason for taking *bās fitte* as accusative plural, but he has been speaking to us only of his little poem on the Twelve Apostles, he knows nothing about *Andreas* or at least says nothing about it. Surely then the natural and unconstrained rendering of *bās fitte* is as accusative singular, 'this poem,'

<sup>1</sup> *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 21

<sup>2</sup> Barnouw, *Herrig's Archiv* CVIII, 371-375, after showing that *gong* and *begong* are used interchangeably (cf. *El.* 648, 1123, 1255, *Chr.* 1035, 235) cites *Gu.* 1134 *worda gongum*, describing a speech of Guthlac's of 30 lines; the phrase *on galdrum*, l. 1180, is used in allusion to the same speech. But it may be seriously questioned whether 'extent, space, circuit' is the right definition of the word as it occurs in the two passages in *Ap.* See B-T., s. v. *begang*, II. <sup>3</sup> Pp. 129-130.

an equivalent expression to *bysses giddes* or *galdres begang* (3) Again Trautmann<sup>1</sup> insists that the double ending of *The Fates of the Apostles* already mentioned, though out of keeping in such a short poem as *The Fates of the Apostles*, becomes quite appropriate when we look upon this ending as the conclusion of the long story of St Andrew. But, after all, the important point with regard to the double ending is not its length, but the fact that it is a double ending, the one part repeating, at times verbally, the other. It is difficult to see how such an irregularity is explained away by uniting *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. As to the right explanation of this double ending there may reasonably be a difference of opinion. Sievers<sup>2</sup> hesitates to ascribe such inartistic work to Cynewulf, and proposes the theory that all the passage contained on fol 54<sup>a</sup>, that is ll 96-122, does not belong to *The Fates of the Apostles*, but to some other poem, and that it has been accidentally separated from its right connection and placed here at the end of a poem already provided with a complete ending. This theory, Sievers thinks, may explain the blot upon this folio as the mark of the scribe conscious of his error in placing the passage at this place. Where the passage actually belongs Sievers does not attempt to determine, though he denies emphatically that it has been separated from *Andreas* by the insertion of *The Fates of the Apostles*. Skeat<sup>3</sup> proposes a somewhat different explanation. The double ending, he says, consists of the two passages ll 88-106 and ll 107 to the end. The first passage, which contains the runes, he calls epilogue B, and the second passage epilogue A. "The author's first intention was to end with epilogue A. But he afterwards determined to compose an epilogue containing runes, so as to give a clue to his name. Consequently he composed epilogue B in its stead and placed it in its right position at the end of the poem. But by some chance the scribe had access to a copy of the original epilogue A, and, thinking it too good to be lost—for which he is not to be blamed—he inartistically tacked it on to the end of the poem." Neither Skeat's nor Sievers' hypothesis seems very convincing. Perhaps the simplest explanation is here the best. Though the double ending appears to be unnecessary and inartistic to our modern sense, it may not have seemed so much so to the author of the poem,

<sup>1</sup> *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 21

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia* XIII, 21-25

<sup>3</sup> *English Miscellany*, pp 419-420.

he may thus have added the second ending as an afterthought without considering it necessary to remove or change the other <sup>1</sup>

To sum up, then, we are forced to the conclusion that neither in the manuscript transmission nor in their contents is there any sufficient indication that *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* are to be taken as a single poem. The evidence of the manuscript permits such a supposition, but it affords no positive evidence in support of it, the evidence of subject matter is distinctly opposed to the theory, for each poem has its individual source and its own internal development. As to *The Fates of the Apostles*, the evidence of the manuscript points conclusively to Cynewulf as its author. Doubts are raised, however, by a consideration of the subject matter — especially the irregular double conclusion. But until some explanation of this peculiarity has been offered that carries more conviction than those so far brought forward, we may accept the testimony of the manuscript, and assign the poem to Cynewulf.

It remains to examine the evidence of metre, language, and style in *Andreas* as compared with the poems of undoubted Cynewulfian origin.<sup>2</sup> This has been carefully done for the metre by Cremer<sup>3</sup> and Mather.<sup>4</sup> Cremer concludes, as a result of his investigations, that though there are numerous differences between *Andreas* and the accepted poems of Cynewulf, these differences are too slight to justify a positive denial of the poem to him. Mather, working independently of Cremer but along similar lines, arrives at the same conclusion. He finds, for example, that double alliteration in the first half-line is one fourth more frequent in *Andreas* than in Cynewulf (i.e. *Juliana*, *Elene*, and *Christ* I, II, III). The D and E types of the second half-line, the distinctively epic verse-form, which Mather considers as most important in his comparative tests, are one fifth more frequent in *Andreas* than in the poem of Cynewulf containing the largest number (*Christ* III), and one third more frequent than in the poem containing the smallest number (*Juliana*). In this respect *Andreas* stands nearer to the *Beowulf*, as

<sup>1</sup> A similar double ending occurs in *Widsið*, ll. 131-134 and ll. 135-143. Müllenhoff, *Haupt's Zs.* XI, 293, regards the first of these two passages as an interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> In the present discussion the following poems are accepted as undoubtedly Cynewulf's: *Elene*, *Juliana*, *Christ* I, II, III, *The Fates of the Apostles*. By combining the glossary to *Christ* I and III, in Professor Cook's edition, with Simons, *Cynewulf's Wortschatz*, a complete verbal index to these poems is obtained.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 4-41

<sup>4</sup> *MLN.* VII, 97-107.

Mather points out, than to the poems of the Cynewulf group. The number of hypermetric lines in *Andreas* (given by Mather as ten) is much less than in Cynewulf (in the *Elene* alone there are seventy-one), in this respect also *Andreas* stands nearer to the *Beowulf* (which contains twelve hypermetric lines) than to the Cynewulfian poems. The evidence of the metre on the whole, Mather concludes, is not decisive. There is insufficient ground either for positively ascribing or denying *Andreas* to Cynewulf. The chief result of the metrical comparisons is that which establishes a special relationship between *Andreas* and *Beowulf*.

The evidence of language and vocabulary is more positive than that of metre. It should be remembered, however, that striking differences in language are not to be expected between two poems, though by different authors, of approximately the same time and place of origin, such differences as do appear are consequently of the more significance.<sup>1</sup> A few of the more noteworthy differences in language between *Andreas* and the accepted works of Cynewulf may be mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

(1) Certain forms in *An*, Fritzsche thinks (pp 42-43) still preserve traces of the original writer's individual usage: thus the forms *mec* and *bec* do not appear at all in *An*, though they appear interchangeably with *mē* and *bē* in the poems of Cynewulf. That the usage in *An* is not due entirely to the scribe of the MS is indicated by the appearance of *mec* and *bec* in other parts of the *Vercelli Book*, as, for example, in *El*. The forms *cōm*, *cōmon* occur eighteen times in *An*, the forms *cwōm*, *cwōmon* occur twice (ll 738, 1278). The reverse is true of Cynewulf, the forms *cōm*, *cōmon* occur in *El* 150 and *Riddles* LXXXVIII, 12 (if we regard the *Riddles* as non-Cynewulfian, only once in Cynewulf), beside numerous occurrences of *cwōm*, *cwōmon*. Fritzsche points out that as the poems of Cynewulf are preserved partly in the *Vercelli* and partly in the *Exeter Codex* this uniformity is the more striking. Such forms as *āgef*, *An* 189, 285, 572, etc., *geseh*, *An* 847, 992, 1004, beside the regular *āgeaf*, *geseah*, though not entirely unknown

<sup>1</sup> Thus Wack, "Artikel und demonstrativpronomen in *Andreas* und *Elene*," *Angla* XV, 209-219, finds no appreciable difference between *Andreas* and *Elene* in the use of the forms studied. Holtbuer, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetives in *Andreas*, *Guðlac*, *Phonix*, *dem Heiligen Kreuz* und *der Hollenfahrt**, Halle, 1884, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf, though his data do not justify so positive a conclusion. Barnouw, *Der bestimmte Artikel im Altenglischen*, p 150, thinks that the use of the definite article in *Andreas* points to a pre-Cynewulfian period, he would place *Andreas* between *Gen A* and *Daniel*, but again the argument is weak.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise indicated the observations are my own.

in Cynewulf (cf *El* 587, *āgefon*, *El* 841, *geseh*) are there exceptional, whereas in *An* they are the more frequent forms

(2) The dative of *fæder* in Cynewulf is *fædere* (cf Sievers, *PBB* X, 1483), *An* 1346, 1410, prove the form *fæder* for that poem

(3) The use of the periphrastic preterit, formed by the preterit of *onginnan*, *cuman*, *gewitan*, + an infinitive, Fritzsche points out (pp 38-39) is more frequent in *An* than in Cynewulf. Thus the form *cōm(on)* + infinitive occurs only five times in Cynewulf, twice, *Jul* 563, *Chr* 549, being with verbs of motion, in *An* alone the construction occurs eight times with the infinitive of verbs of motion, once with another verb. The preterit of *gewitan* + infinitive of a verb of motion occurs only once in Cynewulf, *Chr* 533, the construction is common (see Glossary) in *An*, occurring thirteen times

(4) Though in general differences of vocabulary are best explained as arising from differences in subject matter, yet the following variations in the use of words and particles of common occurrence seem to have some significance

(a) *butan*, conj and prep, occurs only three times in *An*., but twenty times in *Chr*, ten times in *El*, and six times in *Jul*

(b) *ǣninga*, adv, found four times in *An*, does not occur in Cynewulf

(c) *ðā gēn*, 'then, again,' is found twice in *An*, ll 601, 727. In Cynewulf *gēn* and *ðā gēn* occur frequently (six times in *Chr* I-III, seven times in *El*, nine times in *Jul*), not only in the sense 'then, again,' but also with the meaning 'yet, furthermore'. On the other hand *ðā gīt*, *gīt* (once *nū gýt*), occurs nine times in *An*, it occurs in Cynewulf only in *Chr* I, ll 318, 351. *ðā gīt*, *gīt*, in *An* fills largely the place which *ðā gēn*, *gēn*, occupies in Cynewulf

(d) *lyt* occurs five times in *An*, in Cynewulf only in *El*, l 63 (cf. *El* 142 *lythwon*) *Lýtél*, the regular form in Cynewulf, occurring eight times (*Chr* 1400, MS *lyt*, must read *lytel*, as is proved by the metre), occurs only once in *An*, l 1488

(e) *sum* is found in *An* always with a gen plural, never absolutely as in Cynewulf (*El* 131 ff., 548, *Chr* 664 ff., etc). Note also the absolute use in *Ap* 11<sup>1</sup>

(f) *sīð* = 'afterwards.' In Cynewulf the form *sīð* varies with *sīððan*, the shorter form appearing twelve times. In *An* the shorter form does not appear (*syð* of the MS, *An* 1704, is manifestly to be read *syððan*), though *sīððan* is found twenty-two times. The phrase *sīð ond ðer*, *sīð oððe ðer*, etc, occurs ten times in Cynewulf (*El* four times, *Jul* three times, and *Chr* three times); but it does not occur once in *An*. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> Noted also by Fritzsche, p. 53.



the phrase *eft swā ær* is found three times in *An*, but not at all in Cynewulf

(g) *ācweðan* is found eight times in Cynewulf, — four times in *Jul*, three in *Chr*, once in *El*, it does not occur in *An*. *Becweðan* occurs four times in *An*, but does not appear in Cynewulf

(h) *feor*, adj, occurs five times in *An*, but as adjective the word is not found in Cynewulf

(i) *geare*, adv, with the verbs *cunnan* and *witan*, does not occur in the positive in *An*, and only once in the comparative, l 932. In Cynewulf in such phrases the positive occurs nine times, the comparative twice, and the superlative once. The verbs *cunnan* and *witan* are, however, of frequent occurrence in *An*.

(j) The phrase *æfter þam (byssum) wordum*, *An* 88, 761, 1026, 1219 (cf *æfter wordcwudum*, 1447), at the end of a passage of direct discourse, is not found in Cynewulf<sup>1</sup>. The poet of *An* also had the habit of introducing speeches with the phrase *wordum cweðan*, 62, 173, 354, 539, or *worde cweðan*, 716, 727, 743, 850, 913, 1206, 1280, 1450. This phrase is found only once in Cynewulf, *Jul* 92 *worde cwæð*, as introductory to a passage of direct discourse. Other phrases, e.g. *wordum mælan*, *gesecgan*, *frignan*, are occasionally but infrequently used by both Cynewulf and the poet of *An*. The frequent use of *wordum*, *worde cweðan* must be counted a mannerism of *An*.

(5) Fritzsche, p 50, points out that neither the word for Bible nor that for book occurs in *An*, and that the poet nowhere alludes to any written sources. In this respect he is strikingly different from Cynewulf, who very frequently refers to sources, cf *El* 204, 290, 826, 1255, *Chr* 453, 701, 785, 793. It is noteworthy that the poet of *Aþ* refers to his sources in the manner of Cynewulf, cf *Aþ* 1-2, 23, 63, 70.

The similarity in style between *Andreas* and the Cynewulfian poems, particularly *Elene*, which to the early commentators seemed a strong argument for assigning *Andreas* to Cynewulf, cannot be allowed much weight in determining the question of authorship. That *Andreas* belongs to the general school of Cynewulfian poetry is evident. But when one recalls the very homogeneous character of the poetry of this school, — as homogeneous in its way as the poetry of the English Augustan period, — it will be seen that the same verse-form, similar subject matter, and similar general tone, might all be the common characteristics of a number of different poets.

A discriminating observation will, however, bring to light some important differences between *Andreas* and the other poems of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf Barnouw, p 136

Cynewulf group Sarrazin,<sup>1</sup> bringing together all the parallelisms in expression which he could find between *Beowulf* and the Cynewulfian poems (including *Andreas*, *Guðlac*, *Phoenix*, and *Riddles*), attempts to establish a special connection between *Beowulf* and Cynewulf, — to prove, in short, that *Beowulf*, in its present form, was composed by Cynewulf. With this main purpose of Sarrazin we are at present not concerned.<sup>2</sup> It should be observed, however, how easily Sarrazin's argument for the Cynewulfian authorship of *Andreas* may be turned against him. In *Elene* Sarrazin finds 37 parallels to *Beowulf*, in *Christ* 14, in *Juliana* 9, in *Guðlac* (both parts) 14, in *Phoenix* 7, in *Riddles* 14, but in *Andreas* alone he finds 68 parallels, and this number in his second study he increases to 180. The chief result, therefore, of Sarrazin's investigations, so far as *Andreas* is concerned, is to show that that poem occupies a peculiar position in the group of Cynewulfian poems, by reason of the fact that it has carried the systematic borrowing from *Beowulf* to a much greater extent than any other Cynewulfian poem. The argument which establishes this special relation between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* does so at the cost of separating *Andreas* from the other poems of the Cynewulf group — a conclusion which confirms Mather's observations on the metre of *Andreas*.

But the borrowings and adaptations of *Andreas* from the heroic verse are not only more numerous than in the poems of Cynewulf, they are also different in tone and feeling. The contrast between the language and phraseology of the heroic verse and the thought of the Christian legend is more violent in *Andreas* than in the poems of Cynewulf, — than it is even in *Elene*, the poem which, in this respect, stands nearest to *Andreas*. There is in general a lack of restraint, a conscious and often labored use of the devices of Anglo-Saxon poetic style in *Andreas*, which set that poem sharply off from the poems of Cynewulf.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Beowulf-Studien*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 114 ff.; "Neue Beowulf-Studien," *Eng. Stud.* XXIII, 221-267.

<sup>2</sup> For some discussion of Sarrazin's argument from parallels, see Kolbing, *Eng. Stud.* XIII, 472-480, Kail, *Anglia* XII, 21-40.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brooke, *History of Early English Literature*, p. 424. "The constant use of phrases borrowed from *Beowulf*, from Cynewulf himself, the effort to be specially heroic in description, to import more of the heathen elements of Saga into a Christian song than even the *Elene* dared to do — the use of strange words, even the elaborate invention of words — point to a poet who was departing from a temperate style, and suggest, if they do not prove, that he [the author of *Andreas*] wrote at a time when Cynewulf was growing old."

It seems impossible, in the light of these considerations, to assign *Andreas* to Cynewulf. In its external history there is nothing to justify such a disposition of the poem, and in metre, language, and style it reveals characteristics that hold it distinctly apart from the assuredly genuine poems of Cynewulf. On the other hand, it is perhaps going too far absolutely to deny the poem to him, the evidence at present available does not justify so dogmatic an assertion. Without entering the field of merely possible hypothesis, we shall perhaps be going as far as our warrant permits if we say that the poem, although it follows the general traditions of Cynewulfian poetry, is too unlike *Christ*, *Juliana*, and *Elene* to be held in the same group with them.

## V

## POETIC ELABORATION IN ANDREAS

*Andreas*, "the Christian *Beowulf*" as it has been called,<sup>1</sup> is representative of that group of Anglo-Saxon poems in which Christian themes are treated in the spirit of the secular, heroic poetry. Its great companion-piece in this group is *Elene*. The subject matter in both poems is late Christian legend,—in the one the adventures of Andrew and Matthew in the strange land of Mermedonia, in the other the story of St. Helena and her discovery of the Cross in distant Palestine. In spite of their subject, however, both are in spirit romantic stories of incident and adventure.<sup>2</sup>

The framework of the story of both poems was given in their sources, and, so far as the action is concerned, the authors show little or no power of invention. There is not a single incident in the action of *Andreas* which was not suggested by its source.<sup>3</sup> In his adaptation and elaboration of themes and allusions in his source, however, the author of *Andreas* was original. Such elaboration occurs chiefly in descriptions of nature, of towns and buildings, of spiritual struggles

<sup>1</sup> Garnett, *English Literature* I, 27

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, p. 376; *The Dark Ages*, pp. 263-264

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. xxi ff., and for *Elene*, see Glode, *Anglia* IX, 271-318, Holt hausen, *Zft f. deutsche Phil.* XXXVII, 1-19. Brooke, p. 424, remarks that "the writer of the *Andreas* has one power Cynewulf had not, inventiveness in incident", and see further his remarks on p. 414 and p. 420.

conceived as actual battles, of the relations existing between lord and retainer, and it is by the effective use of details of this character that he has succeeded in transmuting the fantastic, Oriental situations of his original into a narrative of true English action and feeling

The poem opens with the conventional formula of the epic, citing tradition as the source of the story, although it is all plainly of literary origin<sup>1</sup> The heroic note is struck in the very opening lines, in the words with which the characters of the poem are designated The apostles are the *begnas*, they constitute the *comitatus*, of the Lord, who is their prince and king<sup>2</sup> This conception of a sort of theocratic kingdom parallel to human political institutions is consistently maintained in the various names which are applied to the Lord<sup>3</sup> Christ, when distinguished from the Father, is the *Æðeling*, the son of the reigning Prince,<sup>4</sup> accused by Satan of being a usurper<sup>5</sup> As their king the Lord commands the apostles to go wherever it is his will that they should go, and so it happens that Matthew suffers the hardest fate a retainer can suffer—he is sent into a strange land, away from the comfort and support of his lord<sup>6</sup>

This relation of the Lord as commander, over-lord, and his followers as retainers, becomes structurally important in the body of the poem. On the one side are Andrew and his companions, who, with Matthew, are the Christian warriors, thanes, *folctogan*,<sup>7</sup> under the leadership of the Lord, on the other side are the warrior Mermedonians under the leadership of Satan.<sup>8</sup> By this device of dividing all the actors in the story into these two opposing camps the action of the whole poem is closely knit and unified The story becomes thus one of the struggle between two organized forces, a story literally of the Christian warfare. When the heathen Mermedonians ride forth to the attack, they come with all the tumult and apparatus of battle, even though their foe is but a solitary person.<sup>9</sup> In other ways, also, this heroic conception of the action of the poem is kept in mind. When Andrew is in Satan's

<sup>1</sup> See l 1, note

<sup>2</sup> L 3, note, cf also 323-325; 726, note.

<sup>3</sup> See Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in the Andreas and Elene*, pp. 13, 21, for a list of them

<sup>4</sup> 568, 649, 911.

<sup>5</sup> 680, note

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 5, 6, 11 ff, note the stress placed on the fact that it was a strange land to which Matthew was sent, ll 16, 24, 26, 63, etc, and in 189 ff. the extremely personal tone of Andrew's remonstrance when a similar journey is proposed to him

<sup>7</sup> L 8

<sup>8</sup> See 43<sup>b</sup>, 141, 1170<sup>b</sup> (cf 822<sup>b</sup>), 1296-1299, 1328 ff

<sup>9</sup> See 45 ff, 125 ff; 138, 652 ff, 1067 ff, 1094 ff, 1201 ff., 1269 ff.

power, the latter exults over him much as a warrior might exult over his defeated foe,<sup>1</sup> when the heathen are in distress they call a council, a *witenagemot*, to discuss affairs, just as a Saxon army might do under similar circumstances,<sup>2</sup> when Andrew's companions are given the privilege of turning back from the journey they have undertaken, in the true spirit of the *comitatus* they prefer the risk of death to the disgrace of deserting their leader,<sup>3</sup> and in bargaining with the disguised sailors Andrew speaks of paying them with gifts of rings,<sup>4</sup> and even of land,<sup>5</sup> as a Saxon prince might speak of rewarding his retainers

*Andreas* also follows the traditions of native heroic verse in its dignified treatment and elaboration of allusions to cities and buildings.<sup>6</sup> With epic impartiality commendatory epithets are used even of the heathen city of the Mermedonians, it is the *winburg*,<sup>7</sup> the *goldburg*,<sup>8</sup> the *wederburg*,<sup>9</sup> the *māran byrig*,<sup>10</sup> the *beorhtan byrig*,<sup>11</sup> the *breogostōl brēme*<sup>12</sup> Bare allusions are also amplified into full descriptions. The brief statement of the prose version, which is here a literal translation of the Πράξις, *bā se mergen geworden wæs, bā se hāliga Andreas lūgende wæs beforan Marmadonia ceastre*,<sup>13</sup> becomes in *Andreas* the detailed description of ll 831-846. In ll. 1155-1160 a description of grief and sorrow is emphasized by a picture of the city deserted and desolate, a contrasting description of joy is given in ll 1655-1657 and 1672-1673, with their picture of the gold-adorned hall of feasting. The passage ll. 1229-1236, with its description of the streets of the city, is elaborated from a bare allusion, in the prose merely *burh bisse ceastre lanan*.<sup>14</sup> Likewise ll 773-778 (part of a connected passage omitted by the prose version, but see the Greek version, Bonnet, p 82, l 7) are, so far as the details are concerned, a poetic amplification of a colorless statement of the original. So also allusions to buildings in the city are elaborated. The prison in which Matthew is held, mentioned merely as *carcern* in the prose version,<sup>15</sup> is described in the corresponding passage of the poem<sup>16</sup> by the aid of various epithets. In this prison,

<sup>1</sup> 1315 ff

<sup>2</sup> 157, 1093 ff., 1161 ff

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 396-414, see l. 3, note

<sup>4</sup> L 271, 302-303; 476.

<sup>5</sup> L 303

<sup>6</sup> Cf l 1236, note.

<sup>7</sup> Ll 1637, 1672

<sup>8</sup> L 1655.

<sup>9</sup> L 1697

<sup>10</sup> Ll 40, 287, 973

<sup>11</sup> L 1649

<sup>12</sup> L 209

<sup>13</sup> Bnght, *Reader*, p 118, ll 14-15

<sup>14</sup> Bnght, *Reader*, p 123, l 1

<sup>15</sup> *Reader*, p 120, l 12

<sup>16</sup> Ll 1004-1008

according to the prose version,<sup>1</sup> there stood a column, and upon the column a stone image. In the poem this single column is multiplied and magnified.<sup>2</sup> A similar heightening of an allusion of the original occurs in the mention of the ship in which Andrew sailed to Mermedonia.<sup>3</sup> The description of the temple in the poem<sup>4</sup> is part of a passage which is omitted by the prose version. The Greek version, however, in the corresponding passage says merely that the Lord entered a temple of the Gentiles, εἰς ἱερὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 10). Apparently the Anglo-Saxon poet has in mind the Jewish temple at Jerusalem,<sup>5</sup> which he describes in the same terms that the author of the *Beowulf* uses in describing the great hall Heorot.<sup>6</sup>

Among the passages of the poem descriptive of natural phenomena, the epic elaborations of allusions to dawn<sup>7</sup> and to sunset and night<sup>8</sup> are noteworthy. Particularly interesting is the symbolic description in ll. 1253 ff., where the allusion to the night passes over into a description of the winter, the primitive mythic matter of night and winter being thus fused into one theme.

The most vivid and real descriptions of the poem are those of the sea, especially of the disturbed sea.<sup>9</sup> The eagerness with which the poet seizes the opportunity of introducing the description in ll. 369 ff. is noteworthy. The corresponding passage of the prose version says merely  *Ic gesæo bæc þæs brōðor synt geswencede of þisse sæwe hrōhnesse* (*Reader*, p. 117, ll. 4-5), and in the Greek version<sup>10</sup> it is made quite plain that the boat has not yet been cast off from land. In the Greek version and the prose the frightened disciples are offered the chance of leaving the ship before the voyage begins, whereas in *Andreas* the question of leaving the ship is not raised until the ship is on the open sea.<sup>11</sup> Somewhat similar and equally vigorous descriptions are the accounts of the water-flood on land<sup>12</sup> and of the circle of fire with which Andrew surrounds the city of the Mermedonians.<sup>13</sup> Several of the personifications in these sections of the poem are strikingly imaginative and vivid. Cold and frost are represented as hoary warriors

<sup>1</sup> *Reader*, p. 125, l. 15

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 1492-1495, the allusion to the image is omitted in the poem, perhaps because the columns were thought of as holding up the roof of the prison

<sup>3</sup> Cf. l. 240, note

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 666-669

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *io þām cynastōle*, l. 666

<sup>6</sup> See l. 668, note

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 123 ff., 241 ff., 835 ff., 1268-1269, 1388

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 1253 ff., 1304 ff., 1456

<sup>9</sup> Ll. 369 ff., 435 ff., 489 ff., 511 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See l. 427, note

<sup>11</sup> Cf. ll. 397-398

<sup>12</sup> Ll. 1522 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Ll. 1540 ff.

stalking abroad at night<sup>1</sup> The terror of the sea is imaginatively conceived as a power rising up from the sea in order to attack the occupants of the boat.<sup>2</sup> Hunger is figured, almost in the spirit of allegory, as a 'pale table-companion,'<sup>3</sup> and again as a grim scather of men,<sup>4</sup> and evil and hatred are personified as a fiery, consuming dragon.<sup>5</sup>

The passages of description and dialogue in the poem are sometimes given a strikingly realistic, even extravagantly realistic coloring. The descriptions of battles between Andrew and the Mermedonians have been already mentioned, an even more grotesque example is the description of the flood as a beer-feast<sup>6</sup> The fire described in ll 1540 ff, which in the Greek version is the conventional fiery cloud from heaven, becomes in the poem a conflagration such as must have been familiar to the inhabitants of the inflammable early Teutonic villages.<sup>7</sup> Some of the passages of dialogue, however, are charmingly naive and fresh, as, for example, when Andrew attempts to evade the command which the Lord has laid upon him,<sup>8</sup> or bargains with the sailors concerning his passage-money,<sup>9</sup> or asks for lessons in sailing<sup>10</sup>

In determining the extent to which *Andreas* was indebted to specific Anglo-Saxon poems, the first place must be given to *Beowulf*. Not only are phrases and words borrowed liberally, but general situations are made to recall those of the earlier poem. The whole narrative framework of *Andreas* plainly suggests the first part of *Beowulf*. Andrew's mission to the Mermedonians is parallel to that of Beowulf to the Danes, the elaboration of the sea voyage in *Andreas* is evidently due to recollections of Beowulf's journey, Andrew performs his task of cleansing the heathen land of the Mermedonians from the sin of cannibalism, and Beowulf cleanses the great hall Heorot of the man-eating monster Grendel, both heroes, their work being finished, return to the land from which they set out

These general similarities in situation are made more striking by frequent parallelism of phrasing between the two poems, as though

<sup>1</sup> L 1258                      <sup>2</sup> Ll 442-445, and cf note to ll 444-445                      <sup>3</sup> L 1088

<sup>4</sup> L 1115 It is particularly interesting to compare these personifications of famine with *El* 691, where night, hunger, and a prison-house, three themes that always stirred the imagination of the poet of *Andreas*, are mentioned in a perfectly colorless way characteristic of the difference between the two poems

<sup>5</sup> L 769, and note                      <sup>6</sup> Ll 1532 ff

<sup>7</sup> See Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p 96

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 190-201.

<sup>9</sup> Ll 471 ff                      <sup>10</sup> L, 485

the author, regarding his hero as another Beowulf, strove as much as possible to tell his story in the same language as the story of Beowulf.<sup>1</sup> After *Beowulf*, the poems which show the closest affinity to *Andreas* are the Cynewulfian poems, particularly *Elene*,<sup>2</sup> *Christ*,<sup>3</sup> *Guthlac*,<sup>4</sup> and *Juhana*.<sup>5</sup> Of these four poems *Elene* offers the largest number of

<sup>1</sup> Parallels between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* are pointed out in the notes to the following lines 1, 3, 8, 24, 25, 43, 45, 51, 64, 72, 106, 116, 123, 127, 128, 150, 151, 152, 154, 180-181, 208, 223, 230, 235, 240, 242, 259, 265, 267, 273, 301, 302, 310, 316, 320-323, 324, 333, 348, 358, 360, 366, 370, 371, 377-380, 393, 414, 421, 425-426, 429, 439, 454, 458-460, 464, 474-476, 493-495, 497, 511, 541, 553-554, 558, 591, 600, 620, 622, 668, 698, 706-707, 732, 769, 784, 803, 818, 824, 834, 837, 840, 841, 843, 845, 850, 914, 932, 940, 963, 982, 985, 988, 994, 1002, 1012, 1013, 1037, 1046, 1074, 1085, 1097, 1115-1116, 1132, 1137-1138, 1140, 1155, 1188, 1191, 1198, 1208, 1227, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1240, 1241, 1245, 1254, 1269-1270, 1275, 1305, 1312, 1324, 1351, 1359, 1393, 1447, 1469, 1481-1482, 1490-1495, 1526, 1531, 1538, 1542, 1547, 1548, 1555-1556, 1557, 1563, 1565, 1574, 1589, 1599, 1612, 1616, 1619, 1626, 1627, 1667, 1694-1695, 1722. See Arnold, *Notes on Beowulf*, pp 121-126, for a discussion showing that the borrowing was by *Andreas* from *Beowulf*, not, as Sarrazin would have it, by *Beowulf* from *Andreas*.

<sup>2</sup> Parallels between *Andreas* and *Elene* are pointed out in the notes to the following lines 10, 31, 39, 40-41, 62, 65-66, 70-71, 95, 106, 123, 133, 140, 204, 223, 235, 237, 265, 302, 360, 395, 410, 416, 458, 470, 485, 523, 544, 557, 564, 568, 569, 573, 583, 585, 588, 595-596, 602, 605, 606, 631, 645, 646, 672, 684, 688, 693, 718-724, 728, 736, 742, 750, 752, 770, 784, 788, 805, 832, 834, 852, 876, 892, 915, 932, 963, 967, 988, 1002, 1008, 1015, 1035, 1046, 1056, 1059, 1087, 1144, 1156, 1157-1158, 1165, 1166, 1202, 1204, 1242, 1243, 1251, 1271, 1278, 1312, 1313, 1326-1327, 1351, 1355, 1379, 1481-1482, 1491, 1511, 1520, 1535, 1538, 1542, 1618, 1627, 1636, 1637, 1640, 1643, 1649, 1684, 1685, 1688, 1698, 1699, 1709.

<sup>3</sup> Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines 33-34, 36, 50, 54, 59, 99, 104, 105, 111, 130, 139, 190, 198, 201, 206, 227, 228-229, 242, 253, 313, 323, 332-339, 367, 394, 408-409, 425-426, 501-502, 523, 525, 541, 564, 567, 576, 580, 585, 599, 606, 630, 640, 661, 671, 717, 721, 746, 747, 759, 776, 789, 795, 798, 800, 810, 814, 830, 832, 845, 868, 874, 938, 939, 967, 968-969, 975, 978, 979, 988, 1005, 1010, 1013, 1037, 1059, 1069, 1085, 1087, 1144, 1166, 1169, 1204, 1207, 1278, 1291, 1340, 1436, 1486, 1511, 1548, 1549, 1555, 1557, 1563, 1603, 1610, 1619, 1633, 1637, 1645, 1649, 1685, 1686, 1709.

<sup>4</sup> Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines 8, 25, 31, 88, 89, 105, 113, 116, 140, 164, 167, 190, 228-229, 233, 294-295, 300, 335, 387, 395, 463, 544, 558, 568, 569, 594, 602, 626, 642, 654, 721, 776, 781, 808, 810, 818, 824, 836, 837, 887, 910, 938, 970, 991, 1001, 1010, 1072-1074, 1107, 1112, 1144, 1210, 1227, 1239, 1243, 1254, 1266, 1278, 1284-1286, 1294, 1296, 1334-1335, 1361, 1476, 1481-1482, 1549, 1579, 1581, 1618, 1637, 1645, 1685, 1696, 1699, 1709.

<sup>5</sup> Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines 52, 53, 57-58, 82, 92-93, 140, 179, 184, 195, 217, 237, 327, 470, 493-495, 524, 528, 556, 605, 611,



parallels to *Andreas*, but the parallels to the other poems prove that they must all have been very familiar to the author of *Andreas*. The parallels between *Andreas* and *Juhana*, though fewer in number than the parallels between *Andreas* and any of the other three poems, are particularly interesting, since the evidences of borrowing on the part of *Andreas* are clearer there than in the case of any other poem except *Beowulf*. Besides the Cynewulfian poems and *Beowulf*, almost every other Anglo-Saxon poem of any length contains a number of phrases which are also found in *Andreas*, but these parallels are sporadic, and, though they indicate the wide acquaintanceship of the author of *Andreas* with the traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry, they do not prove any special dependence of *Andreas* upon other poems, nor any closer relationship than is perhaps usual and normal.

Besides these amplifying passages and reminiscences taken from the literary traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry, there are also in *Andreas* numerous additions of passages of religious color, chiefly recollections from the Bible or homiletic literature. References to the Deity are amplified by allusions to his attributes and powers and to the creation,<sup>1</sup> and the mention of heaven naturally suggests the description of the joys of heaven,<sup>2</sup> or of hell, the tortures of hell.<sup>3</sup> Occasional passages of hymnic character are also developed.<sup>4</sup> Most frequently, however, the additions consist of illustrative quotations from the Bible, the explanation of a proper name,<sup>5</sup> the amplification of an allusion already contained in the original,<sup>6</sup> as, for example, an allusion to the resurrection,<sup>7</sup> to the temple,<sup>8</sup> or to the crucifixion.<sup>9</sup> The allusion to idols and the heathen temple in ll. 1687-1694 is all the addition of the poet. The story of the fall of Satan and his imprisonment in hell was familiar to the poet.<sup>10</sup> Other references derived from ecclesiastical tradition are

695, 734, 746, 755, 792, 805, 806, 807, 845, 861, 873, 887, 932, 978, 979, 994, 1071, 1075-1077, 1086, 1127, 1144, 1166, 1180, 1197, 1223, 1238, 1242, 1288, 1310, 1313, 1315, 1319, 1326-1327, 1328-1329, 1342, 1355, 1415, 1436, 1461, 1462-1463, 1469-1477, 1470, 1486, 1548, 1558-1559, 1579, 1618, 1619, 1629, 1684, 1690

<sup>1</sup> Cf ll 161-162, 324-329, 518-525, 535-536, 541-548, 747-750, 996-999, 1680 ff, and see Fritzsche, p 24, Ramhorst, pp 12-13

<sup>2</sup> Ll 102-106, 225-229, 597-600, 807-810, 869-874, 977-980, 1152-1156

<sup>3</sup> Ll 1190-1194, 1377-1385

<sup>7</sup> Ll 640-643

<sup>4</sup> Ll 540-548, 1284-1295

<sup>8</sup> Ll 666 ff

<sup>5</sup> Ll 12-13, 757, note; 879, note

<sup>9</sup> Ll 960 ff

<sup>6</sup> Cf 332-339, note, 1418-1424, note

<sup>10</sup> Cf ll 1190 ff, 1377 ff, 1701 ff

those to the Cherubim and Seraphim,<sup>1</sup> and to Ethiopia as the seat of Matthew's labors<sup>2</sup>

Some of the passages of this nature are remarkable for an apparent ignorance or misunderstanding of Biblical allusions. Thus in ll 165-166, an addition of the poem, the three synonymous words *Ebræum*, *Israhēlum*, and *Iūdēa* are apparently understood by the poet as meaning three different peoples. The statement of ll 582-584 is not literally in accord with the New Testament narrative, as Christ raised only Lazarus, the son of the widow of Nain, and Jairus' daughter from the dead, perhaps the poet may have had the *Evangelium Nicodemæ* in mind. The statement of l 1324, that Christ was put to death by Herod, shows an astonishing ignorance of the story of the crucifixion. Herod is not mentioned in the corresponding passage of the prose,<sup>3</sup> but in the Greek version<sup>4</sup> the manuscripts vary, some reading as *Andreas*, others adding the name of John as the one put to death by Herod, and still others read Pilate for Herod. But for the introduction of the names Joshua and Tobias,<sup>5</sup> in connection with the story of the Commandments, there is no authority either in the Anglo-Saxon prose version or in any of the manuscripts of the Greek version of the legend. The names appear to be inserted arbitrarily from the chance recollection of the poet. On the other hand, in l 778 ff the poem appears to correct its source. In the Greek version<sup>6</sup> the twelve patriarchs are said to be buried in Machpelah, although the Old Testament does not state that any of them was buried there, and one, Joseph,<sup>7</sup> was certainly buried elsewhere. The poet speaks only of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, all of whom were buried in Machpelah.

With the exception of one brief, colorless passage,<sup>8</sup> the poet nowhere in the poem alludes to himself or to his own experiences

<sup>1</sup> Ll 717-726, and notes

<sup>2</sup> L 432, note

<sup>3</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p 123

<sup>4</sup> Bonnet, p 105, l 3

<sup>5</sup> L 1516

<sup>6</sup> Bonnet, p 83, l 3

<sup>7</sup> *Josh* XXIV, 32

<sup>8</sup> 1478-1479

## VI

## THE LEGEND OF ST ANDREW

The story of the Twelve Apostles, as it is presented in the New Testament, offered a peculiarly inviting field to the imagination of the apocryphal elaborator. The Apostles, who during the lifetime of their Lord were his immediate personal followers, were commissioned after his death to go as witnesses "unto the uttermost parts of the earth"<sup>1</sup> Of these various missions, however, little further is said. Some of the acts of Peter, Paul, John, and James son of Zebedee, are briefly narrated, but concerning Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Simon Zelotes, Judas brother of James, Matthew, Bartholomew, James son of Alpheus, and Matthias, aside from a few general allusions to the Apostles as a whole, the New Testament records are almost completely silent<sup>2</sup>

But since the command had been given to the Apostles to go and teach all nations,<sup>3</sup> what more natural than the attempt to discover the country to which each apostle was sent? Thus as early as the second century<sup>4</sup> arose the legend of the *Lots of the Apostles*, the *Sortes Apostolorum*. According to this legend the Apostles cast lots among themselves that each might know the country into which he was to go and teach, and in accordance with these lots they set out on their various ways. This legend is frequently found as the opening passage of the apocryphal acts of the Apostles<sup>5</sup> In course of time it became an unquestioned part of church tradition, acquiring, like the Apostles' Creed, almost the same reverence as that accorded to the true canon.<sup>6</sup> To this account of the dispersion of the Apostles to all lands brief notices were later added concerning their activity and death in their respective countries, and thus arose the type of narrative represented by the Anglo-Saxon *Fates of the Apostles*.

This legend of the dispersion of the Apostles was only the beginning of a great cycle of romantic, apocryphal tradition, which, taking up the

<sup>1</sup> *Acts* I, 8

<sup>2</sup> See Newman, *Parochial Sermons* I, 209-215 (New York, 1843), for a connected survey of all the allusions to Andrew in the New Testament

<sup>3</sup> *Matt* XXVIII, 19

<sup>4</sup> Lipsius, I, 11

<sup>5</sup> Cf the opening lines of *Andreas*, and see Lipsius, I, 11-13, for other examples

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius, *Hist Eccles* III, 1, cites the legend as authority for the various lands in which the Apostles labored

life of each Apostle in turn, made it the center of a comprehensive history, much as in later times certain of Charlemagne's *doze per* became heroes of special separate narratives. The materials for these apocryphal lives, which passed under the name of the acts (*Πράξεις*), or the journeys (*Περίοδοι*), or the miracles (*Θαύματα*), or the martyrdom (*Μαρτύριον*, *Τελείωσις*), of the respective Apostles, were sometimes derived from local tradition — usually the attempt to trace back some foundation to apostolic times, as e.g. the foundation of the church at Constantinople, ascribed to St Andrew, or of the church at Rome, ascribed to St Peter. Often old tales were used to carry certain doctrinal and partisan views, and doubtless often the stories were merely the expression of the romantic imagination of the faithful. In general the tone of all these compositions is extremely popular.<sup>1</sup>

Most of these lives were not originally intended, however, to be merely entertaining. More or less heretical in their origins, they were devised to spread heretical (chiefly Gnostic) beliefs and customs within the boundaries of the church. Their composition came gradually to be ascribed to one Leucius Charinus, *discipulus diaboli* as he is called in the *Decretal* of Gelasius,<sup>2</sup> a name which is frequently met with in the writings of the fathers from the fifth century on, always accompanied by the accusation of heretical teaching.<sup>3</sup> But the composition of the lives themselves must have been a slow and cumulative process, and the name Leucius Charinus was merely the peg on which a number of unattached histories were hung. The book of which Leucius Charinus thus became the traditional author appears to have grown until it finally included the acts of all Twelve Apostles. Photius (patriarch of Constantinople, ca 981) criticises in detail a collection containing acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, and mentions as current among heretics a collection of the acts of all Twelve Apostles.<sup>4</sup> Acts of all the five Apostles mentioned by Photius have been preserved to the present day, and fragments of acts of Philip and of Matthew have been found, but of the acts of the remaining Apostles nothing can be determined with certainty.

<sup>1</sup> See Lipsius, I, 7-8, von Dobschutz, "Der Roman in der altchristlichen Literatur," in *Deutsche Rundschau* CXI, 87-106 (April, 1902), for a general summary of the characteristics of these legends.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patrolog Lat* LIX, 162.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lipsius, I, 44 ff, for a detailed, and Hamack, p 116ff, for a briefer, discussion of this character.

<sup>4</sup> Cf Lipsius, I, 73.

The earliest trace of special acts of Andrew is contained in a passage of Eusebius (ca 265-340),<sup>1</sup> who characterizes them, among various other apocryphal writings, as the fictions (*ἀναπλάσματα*) of heretics. From this time on there are frequent allusions to acts of Andrew, proving beyond question that well-known acts of Andrew, which bore originally a strong heretical coloring, must have been in existence as early as the beginning of the fourth century. Of these acts, however, only the later Catholic revisions have been preserved, as is the case with all the other apocryphal acts of the Apostles that have come down to us. These later redactions fall into two distinct groups, one relating the acts of Andrew in the lands about the Black Sea, the other his acts in Greece. Without attempting to reconstruct the earlier comprehensive narrative of the acts of Andrew of which these later versions are probably the fragmentary survivals,<sup>2</sup> or to recount the numerous documents in the various languages in which these survivals have been preserved, we shall endeavor to show the connection between the two groups of acts, and, at the same time, to point out the probable ultimate origin of the legend of Andrew in the story of his activity in the regions about the Black Sea.

The first group of acts, those which relate Andrew's adventures in the lands about the Black Sea, consists of two parts. The first part, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the city of the Anthropophagi*,<sup>3</sup> tells the story of the imprisonment of Matthew by the *anthropophagi*, the freeing of Matthew by Andrew, and the conversion of the *anthropophagi* by Andrew. The second part, the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*,<sup>4</sup> is a continuation of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew*. In the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* (Πράξεις, chap 21), after Matthew has been released from prison he and his two disciples are taken up in a cloud and are conveyed to the mountain where Peter is then teaching, where they remain. When the time comes for him to leave the city of the *anthropophagi*, Andrew declares his intention of going to his disciples (chap. 32), and the Lord, in rebuking Andrew (chap 33), tells him

<sup>1</sup> *Hist Eccles*, ed Dindorf, III, 25, Fabricius, II, 747 ff, quotes in full all the early allusions to acts of Andrew.

<sup>2</sup> See Lipsius, I, 545 ff, for such an attempt.

<sup>3</sup> For bibliographical references, see above, p xxxi, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Printed fragmentarily by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p 161 ff, more fully by Bonnet, Part 2, Vol I, pp 117-127. Cf Lipsius, I, 553 ff, for an abstract of the contents of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*.

that after seven days Andrew shall seek his disciples and go away with them to the city of the barbarians (εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν βαρβάρων, Bonnet, p. 116, l. 1). At the opening of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, we are told that after Andrew left the city of the *anthropophagi* he was taken up in a cloud and carried to the mountain where were Peter, Matthew, and Matthew's two disciples, here named Alexander and Rufus. The land in which this meeting takes place is no longer the land of the *anthropophagi*, but the land of the barbarians, to the inhabitants of which Andrew is commissioned to preach. After Andrew has related his experiences in the city of the *anthropophagi* Christ appears to the Apostles in the form of a boy and commands them to go to the city of the barbarians. They set out and on their way meet with a man plowing beside the road. They ask him for bread, with the intention of reading in his willingness or unwillingness to comply with their request an omen, good or evil, of their activity in the city of the barbarians. The man declares himself willing to give them bread, but, as he has none at hand, he entrusts his field and oxen to their care while he goes to the city to procure it. During his absence the apostles plow and sow the field with seed, which immediately springs up and ripens into an abundant harvest. When the plowman returns and sees what has been done in his absence he falls at the feet of the Apostles and is converted. He carries the wonderful news to the city, bearing a sheaf of the miraculous grain with him, and prepares his house for the reception of the Apostles. But Satan enters the hearts of the elders of the city and they determine to forbid entrance to the Apostles. Having heard of the Apostles' abhorrence of immodesty, they disrobe a harlot and place her before the gates of the city. When the Apostles reach the city, at the prayer of Andrew the harlot is carried up into the air by the Archangel Michael, where she remains hovering above the heads of the people. As a result of this miracle many are converted, the Apostles enter the city, preach, work miracles, and establish churches. The concluding episode of the *Acts* tells how Onesiphoros, a rich citizen of the city of the barbarians, is converted through receiving the power of making a camel pass through the eye of a needle. The Apostles then continue their travels, bearing with them the blessings of the newly converted.

There can be no doubt that in these *Acts of Peter and Andrew* we have a fragment of the older *Περίοδοι Ἀνδρέου* connecting immediately with the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the city of the Anthropophagi*

The two combined, however, must have constituted only part of a larger life of Andrew, since the narrative is manifestly unfinished at the conclusion of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*. For a complete synthetic survey of the life and acts of Andrew, we must turn to the narrative of the acts of Andrew in Greece

For this second group of the acts of Andrew we are dependent upon more thoroughgoing Catholic revisions of material taken from the older *Περίοδοι*. The narrative is preserved in various versions in Greek,<sup>1</sup> and in a Latin version,<sup>2</sup> entitled *De gestis beati Andreae Apostoli*, which forms part of the so-called Abdias collection.<sup>3</sup> The narrative in these versions gives a connected survey of the whole life of St Andrew. After a brief summary of the passages in which Andrew is mentioned in the New Testament, the Abdias text begins with an account of the acts of Andrew in the country of the *anthropophagi*. Having received Achaia as his province, Andrew sets sail from his country, Achaia, for the city of the *anthropophagi*, here named Mermedonia, in order to free his brother Matthew from prison. The journey to Mermedonia and Andrew's acts among the *anthropophagi* are narrated very briefly, and nothing whatever is said about the continuation of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* in the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*. Andrew's return journey to Achaia, however, is given in great detail. The places through which he passes are Amaseia, Sinope, Nicaea, Nicomedia, then, crossing the Hellespont, he reaches Byzantium, passes through Thrace and the city Perinthus, through Macedonia and the cities Philippi and Thessalonica, at all of which places he performs numerous miracles

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 105 ff., and by Bonnet, Part 2, Vol I, p. 1 ff. For a description of these versions, see Lipsius, I, 140, 545-6, and Bonnet, *Praefatio*, xi ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fabricius, II, 456-515. A somewhat compressed version of the narrative as it is given in Fabricius is found in the work of Gregory of Tours entitled *De miraculis beati Andreae* (Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* LXXI, Col. 1099). Gregory announces in a prologue to his narrative that he has revised an earlier work on St Andrew because of its verbosity. Lipsius, I, 138, thinks it probable that the Fabricius text was the one which Gregory revised.

<sup>3</sup> This work, which purports to have been written first in Hebrew by Abdias, first bishop of Babylon, to have been then translated into Greek by Abdias' disciple Eutropius, and then into Latin by one Africanus, was most certainly (according to Lipsius, in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. Abdias) written in Latin and originally in Western Europe. Sometime after 524 A.D. is assigned as the date of its composition.

He finally reaches Patras in Achaia, the scene of his last labors. Maximilla, the wife of the proconsul Aegeates, lies sick of a fever, and her servant Ephidama, one of the faithful, calls upon the Apostle for help. Andrew restores Maximilla to health but refuses Aegeates' offer of money in payment of his services. Soon after this the brother of the proconsul, Stratocles, arrives from Italy, and Andrew relieves his favorite attendant, a boy named Alcman, from the torments of demons that afflict him. As a result of these miracles Maximilla is converted and, during the absence of Aegeates, grants the Apostle permission to preach in the praetorium. Aegeates, unexpectedly returning, is prevented through the prayer of Andrew from appearing in the praetorium until after Andrew has blessed and dismissed his audience. Maximilla more and more frequently comes to the Apostle in order to hear his words of instruction, and in the end takes upon herself the vow of chastity. Angered at this, Aegeates seizes Andrew and casts him into prison. On the following day he ascends the judgment-seat and, having summoned Andrew before him, commands him to cease from his foolish and superstitious<sup>1</sup> teachings. Upon Andrew's refusal Aegeates sentences him to three times seven strokes, and delivers him over to be bound, but not nailed,<sup>2</sup> hand and foot to the cross. The people, enraged at the action of Aegeates, are restrained by Andrew from injuring the proconsul. Andrew, after addressing the cross as the goal of his expectations, is bound upon it by the servants of Aegeates. For a day and a night he preached uninterruptedly from the cross. On the following day Aegeates yields to the request of the people and prepares to release his victim. Aegeates himself comes to the cross, but Andrew is willing to die, and, after prayer, rejoicing and glorifying the Lord, he gives up the spirit.

The body of the saint, which remained uncorrupted, is buried by Maximilla. Aegeates, seized by a demon, precipitates himself from a high place and is killed. Stratocles, his brother, who had embraced the true faith, refuses the succession to his brother's riches, declaring that all things that were his should perish with him. The 30th of November is given as the day on which Andrew died.

The redaction of Gregory of Tours<sup>3</sup> adds, at the conclusion of the narrative, an account of the miracle which occurs at the grave of the

<sup>1</sup> *Vana et superstitiosa*, Fabricius, II, 510

<sup>2</sup> *Ligatus manibus et pedibus et non clavus affixus*, Fabricius, II, 511.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. lxiii, note 2



Apostle manna and fragrant oil flow from the grave, and the greater or less abundance of the manna and the oil foretell the prosperity of the year to come. In some years there is such an abundance of oil that it flows to the middle of the church, which is dedicated to the Apostle<sup>1</sup>

The question of the relation of these two groups of acts to each other must next engage our attention. The narrative preserved in the pseudo-Abdias reveals a larger general plan and a completer unification of material than the two sections of the acts of Andrew constituting the first group. Are the two fragmentary narratives therefore to be regarded as dissociated parts of a more completely unified and larger whole, represented by the version of the pseudo-Abdias? Or is the Abdias version, made up chiefly of the story of Andrew's activity in Greece, which is relatively of late date and is decidedly more conventional and literary in tone than the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* and the barbarians, a development of an earlier form represented in part by the two fragments? The question is of interest, because, in answering it, it will be necessary to go back to the first elements of the legend of Andrew and to determine from what germ the whole great series of his acts sprang.

The earliest traditions agree in assigning Scythia (instead of Achaia) to Andrew as his special province. Thus Eusebius<sup>2</sup> mentions only Scythia (*Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν*) as the scene of Andrew's labors. It is only in the later accounts (as the relatively late Abdias) that Achaia is mentioned as Andrew's province, sometimes alone, sometimes in connection with Scythia. Now Scythia was in ancient times a term of very wide application, it meant no single group of people usually, but was the general name for the country of the numerous tribes that occupied the lands about the Black Sea. To the Greek the word was a synonym for all that was wild and barbarous. Certain Scythian tribes

<sup>1</sup> Two other synthetic lives of Andrew, although in the progress of the events narrated they resemble the Abdias text, in detail are frequently fuller and occasionally appear to preserve more original passages than the Abdias. These lives are (1) the work of Epiphanius, the monk, *Περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τέλους Ἀνδρέου*, most accessible in Migne, *Patrolog. Graeca* CXX, 216 ff., Migne adds a Latin translation of the Greek, (2) a work by an unknown author, *Πράξεις καὶ περιόδοι τοῦ Ἀνδρέου ἐγκωμίῳ συμπλεγμέναι*, edited by Bonnet, *Acta Andreae cum laudatione contexta*, pp 3-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Eccles.*, ed. Dindorf, III, 1

were known as cannibals, Aristotle<sup>1</sup> mentioning in particular the Achaei and the Heniochi Strabo,<sup>2</sup> though he does not speak of them as cannibals, describes these tribes as pirates and robbers. The three tribes, the Achaei, Zygi, and Heniochi, he says, subsist by piracy. Their boats are slender, narrow, light, and capable of holding about twenty-five men, rarely thirty. He mentions the tradition that at the time of the expedition of Jason, the Achaei Phthiotae founded the Achaia in Scythia, and the Lacedaemonians Heniochia. Their leaders are said to have been Rhecias and Amphistratus, the charioteers (*ἡνίοχοι*) of the Dioscuri, and the Heniochi are supposed to have derived their name from these persons. Strabo also describes the manner of warfare of these tribes: they were accustomed to make swift descents in their light boats upon the neighboring countries for the purpose of capturing the inhabitants and reducing them to slavery.<sup>3</sup>

It is in some such country as this described by Aristotle and Strabo that we must suppose the action of at least the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* and the *Acts of Peter and Andrew* to have taken place. The assigning of these acts to Scythia is strikingly confirmed by the identification of the city of the *anthropophagi*. This city, which is not specifically named in the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* or the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, appears in the Anglo-Saxon versions as Mermadonia (Marmadonia), in the Abdias text as Myrmidon or Myrmidona, in the *Martyrium Matthaei*<sup>4</sup> as Μύρην τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων, in the *Martyrium Andreae*<sup>5</sup> as τὴν Μυρμηνίδα πόλιν, and in the *Legenda Aurca*<sup>6</sup> in the corrupt form Margundia. This city has been plausibly identified by Gutschmid<sup>7</sup> with the city of the Tauric Chersonese<sup>8</sup> mentioned in Strabo<sup>9</sup> as πολίχμιον Μυρμήκιον, "a small city, 20 stadia

<sup>1</sup> *Politica* VIII, iv

<sup>2</sup> *Geographica*, ed Meineke, II, 696

<sup>3</sup> Gutschmid, p 382, calls attention to the similarity between this account of the custom of these tribes and the resolution of the *anthropophagi*, Πράξεις, chap. 22 (Bonnet, pp 94-97), to send out their young men in boats in order to secure victims to replace those that had been taken from them by Andrew

<sup>4</sup> Bonnet, part 2, I, 220

<sup>5</sup> Bonnet, part 2, I, 47

<sup>6</sup> Ed Graesse, p 13

<sup>7</sup> P 383

<sup>8</sup> More exactly, the Trachean Chersonese Cf Kiepert, *Neuer Atlas von Hellas und den hellenischen Colonien*, plate X. The city is indicated here on the special map of the Kimmerian Bosphorus

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Meineke, II, 426, l 18. For other forms of the name, see Gutschmid, p 383.

from Panticapaeum and 40 stadia from Parthenium" From a form of this name *Μυρμήκιον* or *Μυρμηκιών*, through a probable *ΜυρμιCIONA*, was undoubtedly derived the later form *Myrmidona*, which appears in the Anglo-Saxon version as *Mermedonia* <sup>1</sup>

If, then, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* and the *Acts of Peter and Andrew* are to be placed in Scythia, Andrew's province, and if these acts are to be regarded as parts of the older comprehensive life of the Apostle, it becomes necessary to explain the connection between these acts and the acts and martyrdom of Andrew in Greece. According to the plausible theory of Lipsius <sup>2</sup> the whole series of the acts of Andrew in Greece is due to a traditional confusion of the Achaians of the east coast of the Black Sea with the Achaians of the northern part of the Peloponnesus in Greece. That the confusion was a natural and probable one is evident from Strabo's attempt to account for the presence of a tribe bearing the name of Achaians in Scythia on the assumption of a colony from the well-known Achaia of his own country. The less-known country being thus replaced by the better-known, the martyrdom of Andrew was readily placed at Patras, the chief seaport of the Greek Achaia <sup>3</sup>. This confusion probably took place in popular tradition before the writer of the synthetic life of Andrew (of which the pseudo-Abdias is one representative) gathered together the materials for his work. In order to connect the two widely separated scenes of action, Myrmecium in the Tauric Chersonese and Patras in Achaia, it became necessary to develop the journey of Andrew from the one place to the other. It is noteworthy that the episodes of the acts of Andrew in Greece and the story of his martyrdom at Patras betray a much more conventional and literary tone than the episodes of the two earlier narratives. The former are such as might be drawn from the inexhaustible supply of ecclesiastical legends and fitted to any character. On the other hand, the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi*, and that of Andrew and Peter among the barbarians, are distinctly

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the analogy of Greek *Μυρμιδόνες* aided in the change from *Μυρμήκιον* to *Myrmidona*

<sup>2</sup> Vol I, p 609

<sup>3</sup> Across the straits of the Bosphorus and not far from Myrmecium, according to Strabo, II, 694, l 8, was the town *Patraios* (modern Ada), cf Kiepert, *Neuer Atlas*, plate X. Perhaps the similarity of this name to the name of the city in the Greek Achaia may have aided in the confusion of the two countries, the martyrdom of Andrew in the older narratives may even have been placed at the Scythian *Patraios*

in the tone of the popular legend, and it is probably to these traditional acts of Andrew in the cannibal city that we must look to find the origin and the center of the whole great cycle of his acts. The ultimate source from which the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* sprang Gutschmid<sup>1</sup> regards as twofold (1) traditions derived from the first Greek colonists of the lands about the Black Sea, which told of their struggles with the barbarous natives, (2) sailor stories, as e. g. reminiscences of the *Odysey* and the fourth journey of Sindbad the Sailor, in the *Arabian Nights*, where also the *anthropophagi* place strange herbs before their prisoners in order to take away their reason, and pasture them like animals until they are fat enough to be eaten.<sup>2</sup>

The later development in western Europe of the Oriental story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* and among the barbarians was, in general, in the direction of repression in order to bring it more into harmony with western taste. The story was thus gradually revised and pruned until practically the whole of the adventure in the land of the *anthropophagi* was eliminated. This tendency is already plainly visible in the pseudo-Abdias and in Gregory of Tours, where the more conventional miracles of Andrew in Greece are elaborated at the expense of the original, more fantastic elements of the story. This process of conventionalization was continued until in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine, the work which above all others served as a source to the later mediæval writers of legendaries, the acts of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* are passed over with a few bare, general allusions. So successful were the fathers in their endeavors to destroy or to conventionalize their inheritance of extravagant apocryphal literature that neither in Latin, the common language of western Europe, nor in any of the vernacular dialects except English, has a single copy of the early form of the legend of Andrew, his acts among the *anthropophagi*, escaped their vigilance. And in England also, when in the Middle English period the legend of St. Andrew again supplies the poet with matter for the exercise of his art,<sup>3</sup> the old romantic version is forgotten,

<sup>1</sup> P 385 Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* I, 409, thinks the story may have taken form at Alexandria

<sup>2</sup> Payne, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* V, 180-192 London, 1884

<sup>3</sup> For example, Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, pp 3-10; Metcalfe, *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect* I, 63-96, *Cursor Mundi* III, 1200-1201. See also Forster, *Über die Quellen von Ælfrics Homiliae Catholicae*, p 21

and in its place appears the simplified and conventionalized Latin version in the form in which it is fixed in the *Legenda Aurea* and common to the whole of western Europe<sup>1</sup>

A few words may be added concerning the cult of St. Andrew in Great Britain. As the favorite saint of Gregory, St Andrew must have made a particular appeal to the veneration of the English. Gregory, it will be remembered, when he withdrew from the world, gave all his wealth for the purpose of endowing six new monasteries in Sicily, and in his own palace on the Coelian hill in Rome, he established a seventh, dedicated to St Andrew, in which he himself became a monk.<sup>2</sup> This monastery he is said to have enriched with certain relics of St. Andrew, presented to him by the Emperor Tiberius at the close of his term of office as *apocrisarius*, or papal nuncio, at the Byzantine court.<sup>3</sup> When, after his elevation to the papacy, he seriously undertook the task of converting the English, it was from this monastery that he chose Augustine and his followers as directors of the mission<sup>4</sup> Augustine's first church was appropriately dedicated to Christ, the Savior,<sup>5</sup> but one of the earliest churches founded as a result of Augustine's teaching was the church at Rochester, of which Justus became first bishop in 604. This church was built by King Æthelbert, and was dedicated, most likely in honor of the Roman missionaries, to St Andrew.<sup>6</sup> Together with St. Peter and St Paul, St Andrew was also chosen as patron saint of the church at Medeshamsted, the later Peterborough, founded in 656<sup>7</sup>

More important, however, is the position accorded to St Andrew in the Northern church. At Hexham, Wilfrid, the famous bishop of York,

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the conservatism of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon church in preserving apocryphal literature after it had been generally given up by the western church, see Forster, *Herrig's Archiv* CVIII, 27-28

<sup>2</sup> Montalembert, *The Monks of the West* II, 14, according to Montalembert this monastery now bears the name of St Gregory, Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History* (3d ed.), pp 44-45

<sup>3</sup> Cf Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, March 12, and John, Third Marquess of Bute, *Essays on Foreign Subjects*, "The Last Resting Place of St Andrew," p 3

<sup>4</sup> Cf Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, pp 20-21

<sup>5</sup> Cf Hunt, *ibid*, p 24

<sup>6</sup> Cf Bede, Vol I, p 85, ed Plummer, II, 3. Bede also tells us that in the sacristy of this church Paulinus was buried (III, 14, Plummer, I, 154). It is uncertain whether Rochester or London may claim the distinction of being the second oldest of English bishoprics, cf Palmer, *The Cathedral Church of Rochester*, p 3

<sup>7</sup> Cf *Chronicle*, Laud MS, for 656

built a church which was one of the marvels of his time, none like it, men said, was to be seen on this side of the Alps<sup>1</sup> This church was dedicated to St Andrew, and, as we learn from the following account of its foundation in *Prior Richard's History of the Church at Hexham*, cap. 3,<sup>2</sup> the dedication was in recognition of help received by Wilfrid from the saint

Sanctus igitur Wilfridus, circa Dominicae Incarnationis annum DCLXXIII<sup>m</sup>, et aetatis suae quasi quadragesimum, et episcopatus sui quasi decimum, et regni Ecfredi quasi quartum, in praedicta villa ecclesiam in honorem Dei et Sancti Andreae Apostoli, ad rependendum beneficium quod ejus intercessione consecutus est, artificiosissima structura construxit Nam cum primo Romam venisset, ejus ecclesiam frequentans, de remissione peccatorum suorum, pro qua instantius orabat, per hoc certificari postulabat, si de ingenui sui tarditate, et linguae suae rusticitate, ipsius interventu, absolvi mereretur Nec mora precibus dilecti Apostoli sui, tantam gratiam fidei suo contulit propitia Dei bonitas, ut ad quaelibet discenda promptissimam ingenui vivacitatem, et ad quaelibet intellecta explicanda congruam sermonis faecunditatem se habere sentiret, ut postea per innumerabilium animarum salutem, quas Deo lucratus est, efficacissime in sancta ecclesia claruit

This church, built between the years 672 and 678,<sup>3</sup> was under the control of Wilfrid until his death in 709, with occasional interruptions, however, incident to the storminess of his career. At his death Wilfrid was succeeded by Acca, his friend and the companion of his many wanderings. Acca continued Wilfrid's efforts towards beautifying and enriching the church of St. Andrew at Hexham. Living at Hexham he was of course a near neighbor of Bede's, and the close friendship existing between the two is attested by frequent allusions to Acca in Bede's writings<sup>4</sup> In his *Ecclesiastical History* Bede gives the following interesting account of the nature of Acca's labors at Hexham

Suscepit vero pro Wilfrido episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiae Acca presbyter eius, vir et ipse strenuissimus, et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus, qui et ipsius ecclesiae suae, quae in beati Andreae apostoli honorem consecrata est, aedificium multifario decore ac mirificis ampliavit operibus Dedit namque operam, quod et hodie facit,<sup>5</sup> ut adquisitis undecumque reliquis beatorum apostolorum et martyrum Christi, in venerationem illorum

<sup>1</sup> Cf Hunt, *ibid*, p 144

<sup>2</sup> In Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, 10

<sup>3</sup> Plummer's *Bede* II, xxv

<sup>4</sup> Cf Plummer's *Bede* II, 329

<sup>5</sup> Acca was bishop of Hexham in 731, the year Bede finished his history

poneret altaria, distinctis porticibus in hoc ipsum intra muros eiusdem ecclesiae, sed et historias passionis eorum, una cum ceteris ecclesiasticis voluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit, nec non et vasa sancta, et luminaria, aliaque huiusmodi, quae ad ornatum domus Dei pertinent, studiosissime paravit<sup>1</sup>

Wilfrid and Acca in their wide journeyings must have had frequent opportunity for collecting relics, manuscripts, and vestments, treasures which the early church set great store by. Among these relics were sure to be relics of St. Andrew, and among the "historias" mentioned by Bede the legend of St. Andrew would surely occupy an important place. May it not have been some monk of Hexham who was inspired by his reading of the story of St. Andrew in one of the manuscripts of the episcopal library to the composition of the Anglo-Saxon poem in honor of the patron saint of his church? There was ample time for this to have happened, and for the completed poem to be copied and to be transmitted to some safe retreat in southern England, before the coming of the Danes. When the Danes did come to Hexham in the year 875<sup>2</sup> the devastation which they wrought was complete. Ailred of Rivaux gives the following account of the destruction of Hexham

Quidquid de lignis fuerat, ignis absumpsit. Bibliotheca illa nobilissima, quam praesul sanctus condiderat, tota depernit. In qua denique devastatione monumenta, quae de vita et miraculis Sanctorum sancti patres ad posteritatis notitiam stilo transmiserant, constat esse consumpta.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever manuscript life or lives of St. Andrew were stored in Acca's library probably perished in this conflagration.

According to the very plausible theory of Skene, the historian of Celtic Scotland, the position of St. Andrew as the patron saint of Scotland is an immediate outgrowth of the cultivation of that saint at Hexham. It is known that Acca was expelled from his bishopric in the year 731,<sup>4</sup> but nothing is known of his later years. The foundation of St. Andrews, or Kilmont, in Scotland, which was the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> V, 20, Plummer's ed I, 331. *Prior Richard's History*, in Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, 31, gives an account of Acca's gifts to the church of St. Andrew at Hexham which almost verbally repeats Bede and adds nothing to his statements. Raine, I, 10, says that five Northumbrian parish churches are dedicated to St. Andrew: Corbridge and Bywell, near Hexham, Bolan, Shotley, and one at Newcastle.

<sup>3</sup> Raine, I, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, xlii.

<sup>4</sup> Plummer's *Bede* II, 330.

special respect shown to that saint in Scotland, dates from the reign of Angus, son of Fergus, who died in 761, after a reign of thirty years<sup>1</sup> According to the legends which center about the foundation of St. Andrews, the church was founded in reverence of relics of St. Andrew which were brought from Constantinople by a pilgrim monk, named Regulus. But Skene has shown<sup>2</sup> that this name is merely borrowed from an early Celtic saint of the church of Columba, and that in many respects the story of the foundation of St. Andrews in Scotland resembles that of the foundation of the church of St. Andrew at Hexham. It is, therefore, a reasonable inference that the relics of St. Andrew, in honor of which St. Andrews was founded, were brought from Hexham, perhaps by Acca and his followers, and that the reverence accorded them was but part of a general movement to replace the Columban monks and their custom of dedicating churches to their local founders<sup>3</sup> by the authority and usage of the Roman church of Northumbria. St. Andrew thus became the patron saint of St. Andrews, and finally, as this church grew in popularity, the patron saint of the Pictish nation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland* I, 296

<sup>2</sup> II, 268

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Skene, I, 299

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- 34 — Zu Cynewulfs Runenstellen Bonner Beitrage zur Anglistik, II, 118-120  
 35 — Der Andreas doch von Cynewulf Anglia Beiblatt, VI, 17-23  
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 40 — Zu Anglia, XII, 375 ff Anglia, XII, 464  
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VI THE HISTORY OF THE LEGEND OF ST ANDREW AND OF  
 THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

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 Matthiae, Acta Petri et Andreae, Passio Bartholomaei, Acta Ioannis,  
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 8 FABRICIUS, J A Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, pp 457-460 Ham-  
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 9 GUTSCHMID, ALFRED VON Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostel  
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- 16 — *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* Vol I,  
Braunschweig, 1883, Vol II, part 1, 1887, Vol II, part 2, 1884 *Erganz-*  
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- 17 — *Acta Petri, Acta Pauli, Acta Petri et Pauli, Acta Pauli et Theclae, Acta*  
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- 20 MORRIS, RICHARD *The Blickling Homilies of the Xth Century* Early  
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Rundschau, April, 1902, CXI, 87-106
- 26 WALKER, ALEXANDER *Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of the*  
*Man-eaters Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations, Ante Nicene*  
*Christian Library*, ed Roberts and Donaldson, XVI, 348-368 Edinburgh,  
1873

## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS<sup>1</sup>

An	Andreas	C, Cook	Cook, A First Book in Old English (II, 10)
Angl	Anglia	Chr	Christ, Bibl III, 1-54
Ap	The Fates of the Apostles	Cleas-Vig	Cleasby-Vigfusson, Icelandic English Dictionary
Archiv	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen	Cod Ver	Wulker, Codex Vercellensis (I, 7)
AS	Anglo-Saxon	Cos	Cosijn
Az	Azarias, Bibl II, 491-520	Cræft	B1 Monna Cræftum, Bibl III, 140-143
B,	Baskervill Baskervill, Andreas, A Legend of St Andrew (II, 8)	Cremer	Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchung (IV, 9)
B <sup>2</sup>	Baskervill, Amer Journal of Phil, VIII, 95-97 (II, 9)	Cross	Vision of the Cross, Bibl II, 116-125
Barnouw	Textkritische Untersuchungen (IV, 1)	Dan	Daniel, Bibl II, 476-515
Beibl	Beiblatt	Deor	Deor's Lament, Bibl I, 278-280
Beow	Beowulf, Bibl I, 149-277	Dicht	Grein, Dichtungen der Angelsachsen (III, 2)
Bibl	Grein-Wulker, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie	Dict	Sweet, Student's Dictionary of Anglo Saxon
Blount	The Phonetic and Grammatical Peculiarities of the Andreas (IV, 4)	Edd	Editors
Bonn Beit	Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik	Edg	Edgar, Bibl I, 381-384
Bonnet	Acta Andreae et Matthiae, in Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, II, 1, 65-116 (VI, 3)	E E T S	Early English Text Society
Bourauel	Zur Quellen- und Verfasserfrage von Andreas, etc (V, 4)	El	Elene, Bibl II, 126-201
Brooke	The History of Early English Literature (V, 6)	Eng Stud	Englische Studien
Brun	Battle of Brunanburh, Bibl I, 374-379	Ettm	Ettmüller, Engla and Seaxna Scopas (II, 5)
B T	Bosworth-Toller, Anglo Saxon Dictionary	Ex	Exodus, Bibl II, 445-475
Buttenwieser	Studien über die Verfasserschaft des Andreas (V, 8)	Ex Gn	Exeter Gnomes, Bibl I, 341-352
		Fabricsus	Codex Apocryphus (VI, 8)
		Fæd	Fæder larcwidas, Bibl I, 353-357

<sup>1</sup> The numerals in parentheses following certain incomplete titles refer to the full titles given in the classified Bibliography

- Finnesb The Fight at Finnesburh,  
Bibl I, 14-17
- Fritzsche Das angelsächsische Ge-  
dicht Andreas (V, 13)
- Gen Genesis, Bibl II, 318-444
- Gm, Grimm Andreas und Elene  
(II, 2)
- Gn Grem, Bibliothek (II, 7)
- Gn<sup>2</sup> Grein, Germania, X (IV, 11)
- Gn C Cotton Gnomes, Bibl I, 338-  
341
- Gol, Gollancz Cynewulf's Christ  
(IV, 10)
- Gram Sievers, Angelsächsische  
Grammatik
- Grundriss Wulker, Grundriss zur  
Geschichte der angelsächsischen  
Litteratur (I, 6)
- Gu Guthlac, Bibl III, 54-94
- Gutschmid Die Königsnamen, etc  
(VI, 9)
- Hall Judith, Phoenix and other Anglo-  
Saxon Poems (III, 5)
- Harnack Die Überlieferung und der  
Bestand, etc (VI, 10)
- Haupt's Zs Zeitschrift für deutsches  
Alterthum
- Hol Hollenfahrt Christi, Bibl III,  
175-180
- Hy Hymns, Bibl II, 211-281
- Icel Icelandic
- Imelmann Das altenglische Meno-  
logium (VI, 12)
- Indo-Ger Indo-Germanic
- Jud Judith, Bibl II, 294-314
- Jul Juliana, Bibl III, 117-139
- K, Kemble The Poetry of the Codex  
Vercellensis (II, 3, III, 1)
- Kluge Zur Geschichte des Reimes  
(IV, 16)
- Legend The Legend of St Andrew  
In Bright's Anglo Saxon Reader  
(VI, 5)
- Lipsius Die apokryphen Apostelge-  
schichten, etc (VI, 16)
- M Muller, Angelsächsisches Lese-  
buch (II, 6)
- Mald The Battle of Maldon, Bibl I,  
358-373
- ME Middle English
- Men Menologium, Bibl II, 282-293
- Metr Metrical passages of Boethius,  
Bibl III, 1-57
- MLA Modern Language Association
- MLN Modern Language Notes
- MnE Modern English
- Mod B1 Manna Mode, Bibl III,  
144-147
- Nachtr Nachtrage
- Nap Napier Collation der altengl-  
schen Gedichte im Vercellibuch (IV,  
19)
- NED New English Dictionary
- NHG New High German
- OHG Old High German
- OS Old Saxon
- Pan Panther, Bibl III, 164-166
- PBB. Paul and Braune's Beiträge zur  
Geschichte der deutschen Sprache  
und Literatur
- Ph Phoenix, Bibl III, 95-116.
- Πράξεις Πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Μαρθῆλα,  
in Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocry-  
pha (VI, 3)
- Ps. Psalms, Bibl III, 83-236
- Ramhorst Das altenglische Gedicht  
vom heiligen Andreas (V, 24)
- Rid, Riddles, Bibl III, 183-238.
- Rim. Poem Riming Poem, Bibl III,  
160-163
- Root. The Legend of St. Andrew  
(III, 4)



TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

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Sal and Sat	Salomon and Saturn, Bibl III, 58-82	W, Wulker	Bibliothek der angel- sachsischen Poesie, II, 1-91, 563-568 (II, 9)
Sat	Christ and Satan, Bibl II, 521- 562	Wald	Waldere, Bibl I, 11-13
Sc	Scotch	Walker	Acts of Andrew and Matthias (VI, 26)
Seaf	Seafarer, Bibl I, 290-295	Wand	Wanderer, Bibl I, 284-289
Shipley	The Genitive Case in Anglo- Saxon Poetry (IV, 23)	Wid	Widsið, Bibl I, 1-6
Siev, Sievers	Zu Cynewulf, Anglia XIII, 1-25 (V, 30), so unless other specific reference is given	Wulfing	Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen
Simons	Cynewulfs Wortschatz (IV, 24)	Wulfstan	Wulfstan, Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien, ed Napier Berlin, 1883
Soul	Soul and Body, Bibl II, 92-107	W W	Wright-Wulker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies
Spr	Grein, Sprachschatz	ZfdPhil	Zeitschrift fur deutsche Philologie
Th, Thorpe	Appendix B (II, 1)		
Tr, Trautmann	Zu Cynewulfs Runen- stellen (V, 34), so unless other specific reference is given		



# ANDREAS

[1]

Hwæt ! wē gefrūnan on fyrndagum  
 twelfe under tunglum tirēadige hæleð,  
 þeodnes þegnas Nō hira þrym ālæg  
 camprædenne þonne cumbol hneotan,  
 syððan hīe gedældon, swā him Dryhten sylf, 5  
 heofona hēahcynning, hlȳt getæhte  
 þæt wæron mære men ofer eorðan,  
 frome folctogan ond fyrdhwate,

1 *Gm*, *K* gefrunon *Gm* regularly changes -an preterits to -on, usually, but not always, citing the MS reading, *K*, *Ettm* follow *Gm* without remark *K* at no time gives variant readings, either from the MS or the Edd Except in cases of doubtful interpretation, variants of Edd in the preterit endings will not be recorded hereafter — 4 MS camrædenne *Gm* hnēotan, not changed to hneoton because taken as infinitive, but *Gm* note 'hneotan = hneoton = hniton, pret pl of hnitan?' *K* hneoton, *Gn* hneotan, repeating *Gm*'s note, so also Bright (*MLN* II, 80) *Gn*<sup>2</sup> and *Spr* II, 90 hnēotan, from inf hnātan, *B* hnēotan, *W* in his text never, in his notes rarely, indicates the quantities of vowels — 5 *Gm* siððan, and so regularly *Gm* generally allows *y* to stand only as representative of an original *u*, 1 as representative of an original *i*, *K* and *Ettm* follow *Gm* *Gn* neither emends nor follows the MS readings consistently Thus he changes cining regularly to cynning (ll 171, 416, 880, etc) but follows the MS in the spellings drihten and dryhten, he retains syððan at times (ll 5, 33, 706, 1193, etc) but also frequently changes to siððan (ll 43, 180, 1106, etc) Hereafter variants of *i* and *y* will not be recorded except from the texts of those Edd who endeavor to follow the usage of the MS — 6 MS, Th lyt — 8 In the MS ond as conj and in composition is usually represented by the abbreviation *ȳ* It is written out as ond, conj, in ll 945, 1001, 1203, 1307, 1395, 1400, 1719 In composition ond is written out in ll 202, 285, 290, 343, 401, 508, 510, 818, 857, 925, 1148, 1224, 1254, 1521 As conj and does not occur in the MS, *W*'s MS reading and for l 754 is wrong, as the MS has here, plainly, the usual abbreviation In composition and- is written out in ll 189, 509, 572, 783, 925 *Gm*, *Gn*, *K*, though they usually preserve the MS reading where the word is written out, regularly expand the abbreviation into and *B* prints usually ond, sometimes and, thus l 8 and, l 9 ond *W* does not expand the abbreviations Inasmuch as ond is

rōfe rincas, þonne rond ond hand  
 on herefelda helm ealgodon, 10  
 on meotudwange. Wæs hira Māthēus sum,  
 sē mid Iūdēum ongan godspell ærest  
 wordum writan wundorcraefte,  
 þām hālig God hlȳt getēode  
 ūt on þæt igland, þær ænig þā gīt 15  
 ellpēodigra ēðles ne mihte  
 blædes brūcan, oft him bonena hand  
 on herefelda hearde gescēode.  
 Eal wæs þæt mearcland morðre bewunden,  
 fēondes fācne, folcstede gumena, 20  
 hæleða ēðel Næs þær hlāfes wist  
 werum on þām wonge, nē wāteres drync  
 tō brūconne, ah hie blōd ond fel,  
 fīra flāschoman, feorrancumenra,  
 ðegon geond þā pēode. Swelc wæs þēaw hira, 25  
 þæt hie æghwylcne ellðēodigra  
 dydan him tō mōse metepearfendum,  
 þāra þe þæt ēaland ūtan sōhte.  
 Swylc wæs þæs folces freoðolēas tācen,  
 unlāedra eafōð, þæt hie ēagena gesihð, 30  
 hettend heorgrimme, hēafodgimmas,  
 āgēttan gealgmōde gāra ordum.  
 Syððan him geblēndan bitere tōsomne,

*the only form of the word written out as cony, and ond- the more usual form in composition, the abbreviation is regularly expanded, in the present text, into ond*  
*Variants of Edd in the reading of ond and and will not be recorded hereafter*

18 *Gm, K* gescēod — 23 *Th, Gm, K, Gn* biucanne — 24 *MS, Edd* feorran cumenra — 25 *MS, W* ðegon *W* alone endeavors to follow the usage of the *MS* in printing ð and þ, the other *Edd* print, without remark, þ in initial and ð in medial and final position. — 30 *Th* eafōð — 31 *MS, Th* hetted *MS, Edd* heafodgimme, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi, 8*) heafodgimmas — 32 *MS, Edd* ageton, except *Gm, K* aguton — 33 *MS, Th* geblondan, *Gm* geblēndon, *K* geblendon, *Gn* geblēondan

drȳas þurh dwolcræft, drync unhēorne,  
 sē onwende gewit, wera ingeþanc, 35  
 heortan [on] hreðre, hyge wæs oncyrrred,  
 þæt hie ne murndan æfter mandrēame,  
 hæleþ heorogrædige, ac hie hīg ond gærs  
 for metelēaste mēðe gedrehte  
 þā wæs Māthēus tō þære mæran byrig 40  
 cumen in þā ceastre þær wæs cirm micel  
 geond Mermedonia, mānfulra hlōð,  
 fordēnera gedræg, syþþan dēofles þegnas  
 |geāscodon æðelinges sið [f. 30<sup>a</sup>]  
 Eodon him þā tōgēnes, gārūm gehyrsted, 45  
 lungre under lunde, nālas late wæron,  
 eorre æsberend, tō þām orlege  
 Hie þām hālgan þær handa gebundon  
 ond fæstnodon fēondes cræfte,  
 hæleð hellfūse, ond his hēafdes segl 50  
 ābrēoton mid billes ecge Hwæðre hē in brēostum þā gīt  
 herede in heortan heofonrices weard,  
 þeah ðe hē ātres drync atulne onfēnge,  
 ēadig ond onmōd hē mid elne forð  
 wyrðode wordum wuldres aldor, 55  
 heofonrices weard, hālgan stefne,  
 of carcerne, him wæs Cristes lof  
 on fyrdhlocan fæste bewunden.

36 *MS*, *Edd* heortan hreðre — 37 *B* murndon, *B*<sup>2</sup> murndan — 38 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) -grædige — 39 *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* gedrēhte, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> gedrehte — 43 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* (note, 'unflectierter plural'), *B* þegn, *Trautmann* (*Kynewulf*, p 81) þewu, *W* þegnas In the *MS*, þegn, followed by a period, stands the last word on f 29<sup>b</sup> Between f 29 and f 30 there is a narrow strip of parchment *Th* says, 'a leaf of the *MS* has been cut out here,' and indicates an omission in his text, *Gm*, *K* as *Th* *Gn*, *B*, *W* state that a leaf of the *MS* has been cut out but see no interruption in the narrative and print the text without break *Nap* thinks the *MS* is here intact — 46 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* nalæs — 51 *Gm*, *K* abruton — 54 *Gm*, *K* ānmōd

Hē þā wēpende wēregum tēarum  
 his sigedryhten sārgan reorde 60  
 grētte, gumena brego, gēomran stefne,  
 weoruda wilgeofan, ond þus wordum cwæð  
 “ Hū mē elþeodige inwitwrasne,  
 searonet, sēowað<sup>1</sup> ! Ā ic symles wæs  
 on wega gehwām willan þines 65  
 georn on mōde, nū þurh geohða seal  
 dæde fremman swā þā dumban nēat<sup>1</sup>  
 þū āna canst ealra gehygdo,  
 Meotud mancynnes, mōd in hreðre  
 Gif þin willa sie, wuldres aldor, 70  
 þæt mē wærlogan wæpna ecgum,  
 sweordum, āswebban, ic bēo sōna gearu  
 tō ādrēoganne þæt þū, Drihten mīn,  
 engla ēadgifa, ēðellēasum,  
 dugeða dædfruma, dēman wille. 75  
 Forgif mē tō āre, ælmihtig God,  
 lēoht on þissum life, þy læs ic lungre scyle,  
 āblended in burgum, æfter billhete  
 þurh hearmcwide heorugrædigra,  
 lāðra lēodsceaðena, leng þrōwian 80  
 edwitspræce Ic tō ānum þē,  
 middangeardes weard, mōd stapolige,  
 fæste fyrhðlufan, ond þē, fæder engla,  
 beorht blædgifa, biddan wille,  
 þæt þū mē ne gescyrige mid scyldhetum, 85  
 wērigum wrōhtsmiðum, on þone wyrrestan,  
 dugoða dēmend, dēað ofer | eorðan ” [f 30<sup>b</sup>]

63 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) þeodige — 64 *MS*, *Th*, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr* u, 437 (but *seowað*, *seowiað*? as *second reading*), *B*, *W* *seoðað*, *Gm.*, *K*, *Gn.*, *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 8) *seowað* — 66 *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 8) *gēohða* = *gēahða* — 67 *Gm*, *K* *dæda* — 71 *Th*, *Gm* *wæfna* — 80 *Th*, *Gn*, and *Spr* u, 601 *þreowian*. — 85 *Gm note*, *Gn note* *scyldhatum*?, *B* *scild*-, *B*<sup>2</sup> *scyld*-.

Æfter þyssum wordum cōm wuldres tācen  
 hālg of heofenum, swylce hādre segl,  
 tō þām carcerne, þær gecyðed wearð, 90  
 þæt hālg God helpe gefremede.  
 Ðā wearð gehyred heofoncyniges stefn  
 wrætlic under wolcnum, wordhlēoðres swēg  
 mæres þēodnes, hē his maguþegne  
 under hearmlocan hælo ond frōfre 95  
 beaurōfum ābēad beorhtan stefne  
 “Ic þē, Māthēus, mine sylle  
 sybbe under swegle Ne bēo ðū on sefan tō forht,  
 nē on mōde ne murn, ic þē mid wunige  
 ond þē ālyse of þyssum leoðubendum 100  
 ond ealle þā menigo þe þē mid wuniað  
 on nearonēdum þē is neorxnawang,  
 blæda beorhtost, boldwela fægrost,  
 hāma hyhtlicost, hālegum mihtum  
 torht ontȳned, þær ðū tȳres mōst 105  
 tō wīdan fēore willan brūcan  
 Gepola þēoda þrēa, nis sēo þrāh micel,  
 þæt þē wærlogan witebendum,  
 synnige ðurh searocræft, swencan mōtan  
 Ic þē Andrēas ædre onsende 110  
 tō hlēo ond tō hrōðre in þās hæðenan burg,  
 hē ðē ālyseð of þyssum leoðhete  
 Is tō þære tide tælnet hwile  
 emne mid sōðe seofon ond twēntig  
 nihtgerimes, þæt ðū of nēde mōst, 115  
 sorgum geswenced, sigore gewyrðod,

89 *MS* segl, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *W* sægl — 93 *Th*, *Gm* word hleoðres, *Gm*  
*places sweg in l 94<sup>a</sup>* — 99 *MS* ne ne murn — 101 *MS* the second þe written in  
*above the line* — 102 *MS*, *Edd* neorxna wang — 105 *B* tires, *B*<sup>2</sup> tyres — 109  
*MS*, *Edd* synne — 112 *Gm* alysed

hweorfan of hēnðum in gehyld Godes ”  
 Gewāt him þā se hālgā helm ælwihta,  
 engla scyppend, tō þām ūplican  
 ēðelrice Hē is on riht cyning, 120  
 staðolfæst stýrend, in stōwa gehwām

## [II]

Ðā wæs Māthēus miclum onbryded  
 nīwan stefne Nihthelm tōglād,  
 lungre lēorde, lēoht æfter cōm,  
 dægredwōma Duguð samnade, 125  
 hæðne hildfreca, hēapum þrungeon  
 (gūðsearo gullon, gāras hrysedon),  
 bolgenmōde, under bordhrēoðan  
 Woldon cunnian, hwæðer cwice lifdon  
 þā þe on carcerne clommum fæste 130  
 hlēolēasan wic hwile |wunedon, [f 31<sup>a</sup>]  
 hwylcne hie tō æte ærest mihton  
 æfter fyrstmearce fēores ðerædan.  
 Hæfdon hie on rūne ond on rīmcræfte  
 āwriten, wælgrædige, wera endestæf, 135  
 hwænne hie tō mōse meteþearfendum

117 *MS*, *Edd* hweorfest, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 8) hweorfan — 118 *MS* ge him, with no indication of omission, all *Edd* gewat — 120 *MS* riceð, the lower part of the s erased, so Nap, *W* after e of rice, a heavy period followed by a semicolon. But the *MS* has plainly s, the comma beneath the partly erased letter indicating that it is to be removed. All *Edd* eðelrice, *Gn* note, ‘*MS* eðel riceð, eðel uninflecterier dativ?’ — 120 *Gn* onriht — 121 The first section of the narrative in the *MS* ends with gehwam. Space for one line is left vacant and the second section begins with a large capital Ð, followed by a smaller capital A. Hereafter, since the method of dividing the narrative into sections varies only in insignificant details, these divisions will not be described, but will be indicated by spacing and numbering in the text — 125 *Th* dægred woma — 134 *Gn* hi — 134 *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 8) omits on before rīmcræfte — 135 *Siew* (*PBB* *x*, 460) -grædige — 136 *MS*, *Th* hwæne, *B* hwænne as *MS*. reading, *B*<sup>2</sup> hwæne *Th*, *Gm* mete þearfendum



on þære werþeode weorðan sceoldon  
 Cırdon caldheorte, corðor ðorum getang,  
 rēðe ræsboran rihtes ne gımdon,  
 Meotudes mildse, oft hıra mōd onwōd 140  
 under dımscūan dēofles lārum,  
 þonne hie unlædra eaueðum gelyfdon  
 Hie ðā gemetton mōdes glāwne,  
 hālgne hæle, under heolstorlocan  
 bıdan beadurōfne þæs him beorht cyning, 145  
 engla ordfruma, unnan wolde.  
 Ðā wæs first āgān frumrædenne  
 þınggemearces būtan þım nihtum,  
 swā hit wælwulfas āwriten hæfdon,  
 þæt hie bānhrıngas ābrecaþ þōhton, 150  
 lungre tōlȳsan lic ond sāwle,  
 ond þonne tōdælan duguðe ond geogoðe,  
 werum tō wıste ond tō wılpege,  
 fæges flæschoman Feorh ne bemurndan,  
 grædige gūðrıncas, hū þæs gāstes sıð 155  
 æfter swyltcwale geseted wurde!  
 Swā hie symble ymb þrıtig þıng gehēdon  
 nihtgerımes, wæs him nēod micel,  
 þæt hie tōbrugdon blōdıgum ceafum  
 fıra flæschoman hım tō fōddorpege 160  
 þā wæs gemyndıg, sē ðe middangeard  
 gestaðelode strangum mıhtum,  
 hū hē in ellþeodıgum ymðum wunode,  
 belocen leoðubendum, þe oft his lufan ādrēg  
 for Ebrēum ond Israhēlum, 165

138 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* corðer — 142 *K*, *Gn*, *B* eafeðum — 143 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*,  
*Gn*, *B* gleawne, *B*<sup>2</sup> glawne — 145 *MS* wæs, *Edd* hwæs, *Bright* (*MLN* 11, 80)  
 þæs — 157 *K* gehegdon — 158 *Nap* after nihtgerımes an erasure of one or two  
 letters in the *MS* — 163 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) -þeodgum *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* wunade  
 — 164 *MS*, *Edd* of, *Cos* (*PBB* xxx, 9) oft *Gm*, *K* adreag

swylce hē Jūdēa galdorcraeftum  
 wiðstōd stranglice þā sio stefn gewearð  
 gehēred of heofenum, þær se hālga wer  
 in Achaia, Andrēas, wæs,  
 lēode lārde on lifes weg. 170  
 þā him cirebaldum cininga wuldor,  
 Meotud mancynnes, mōdhord onlēac,  
 weoruda Drihten, ond þus wordum cwæð  
 “þū scealt fēran ond ferð lædan,  
 siðe gesēcan, ðær sylfætan 175  
 eard weardigað, ēðel healdap  
 morðorcraeftum Swā is þære menigo þēaw,  
 |þæt hie uncūdra ængum ne willað [f 31<sup>b</sup>]  
 on þām folcstede fēores geunnan,  
 syððan mǣnfulle on Mermedonia 180  
 onfindað fēasceaftne, þær sceall feorhgedāl,  
 earmlic ylða cwealm, æfter wyrþan  
 Ðær ic seomian wāt þinne siðebrōðor  
 mid þām burgwarum bendum fæstne  
 Nū bið fore þrēo niht, þæt hē on þære þēode sceal 185  
 fore hǣðenra handgewinne  
 þurh gāres gripe gāst onsendan,  
 ellorfūsne, būtan ðū ær cyme.”  
 Ædre him Andrēas āgef andsware  
 “Hū mæg ic, Drihten mīn, ofer dēop gelād 190  
 fōre gefremman on feorne weg  
 swā hrædlīce, heofona scyppend,  
 wuldres waldend, swā ðū worde becwist?  
 Ðæt mæg engel þīn ēað gefēran  
 Of heofenum con him holma begang, 195

171 *Gn* cirebealdum (not as *W* states cire bealdum), *M* note cynebealdum? —  
 174 *MS*, *Edd* 111ð, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 9), *Simons* (*p* 39) ferð — 181 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*,  
*Gn* sceal — 185 *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 9), *Simons* (*p* 107) ofer for fore

sealte sǣstrēamas ond swanrāde,  
 waroðfaruða gewinn ond wæterbrōgan,  
 wēgas ofer wīdland Nē synt mē winas cūðe,  
 eorlas elþeodige, nē þær æniges wāt  
 hæleða gehygdō, nē mē herestræta 200  
 ofer cald wæter cūðe sindon ”

Hum ðā ondswarude ēce Dryhten  
 “ Ealā, Andrēas ! þæt ðū ā woldest  
 þæs siðfætēs sǣne weorþan !  
 Nis þæt unēaðe eallwealdan Gode 205  
 tō gefremmanne on foldwege,  
 ðæt sio ceaster hider on þās cnēorisse  
 under swegles gang āseted wyrðe,  
 breogostōl brēme, mid þām burgwarum,  
 gif hit worde becwið wuldres āgend 210  
 Ne meaht ðū þæs siðfætēs sǣne weorðan,  
 nē on gewitte tō wāc, gif ðū wel þencest  
 wið þinne waldend wære gehealdan,  
 trēowe tācen Bēo ðū on tid gearu ,  
 ne mæg þæs ærendes ylding wyrðan. 215  
 Ðū scealt þā fōre gefēran ond þin feorh beran  
 in gramra gripe, ðær þē gūðgewinn  
 purh hǣðenra hildewōman,  
 beorna beaducraft, geboden wyrðeð  
 Scealtū æninga mid ærdæge, 220  
 emne tō morgene, æt meres ende  
 cēol ge|stigan ond on cald wæter [f. 32<sup>a</sup>]  
 brecan ofer bæðweg. Hafa bletsunge  
 ofer middangeard mīne, þær ðū fēre.”

196 After the s of sealte, a blank space in the MS caused by the erasure of one letter MS stearmas — 198 MS, Edd wegas and wid land, Gn<sup>2</sup> wīdland Cos (PBB. xxxi, 9) weras for winas — 199 Siev (PBB x, 460) þeodige — 203 Gn Ea la — 205 K ealwealdan — 213 Gm, K., M wealdend — 219 MS, Th, Gm wyrdeð — 221 Siev (PBB. x, 459) morgne

Gewāt him þā se hālga healdend ond wealdend, 225  
 ūpengla fruma, ēðel sēcan,  
 middangeardes weard, þone mæran hām,  
 þær sōðfæstra sāwla mōton  
 æfter lices hryre lifes brūcan.

## [III]

þā wæs ærende æðelum cempan 230  
 āboden in burgum, ne wæs him blēað hyge,  
 ah hē wæs anræd ellenweorces,  
 heard ond higerōf, nālas hidlata,  
 gearo, gūðe fram, tō Godes campe.  
 Gewāt him þā on uhtan mid ærdæge 235  
 ofer sandhleoðu tō sæs waruðe,  
 þriste on geþance, ond his þegnas mid,  
 gangan on grēote, gārsecg hlynede,  
 bēoton brimstrēamas. Se beorn wæs on hyhte,  
 syðþan hē on waruðe wifðæðme scip 240  
 mōðig gemette þā cōm morgentorht  
 bēacna beorhtost ofer breomo snēowan,  
 hālig of heolstre, heofoncandel blāc  
 ofer lagoflōdas Hē ðær lidweardas,  
 þrymlīce þrȳ, þegnas [gemette,] 245  
 mōðiglice menn, on merebāte  
 sittan siðfrome, swylce hie ofer sē cōmon.  
 Þæt wæs Drihten sylf, ðugeða wealdend,  
 ēce ælmihtig, mid his englum twām.

227 *MS* we<sup>rd</sup>, *B* note, incorrectly as *MS*, weard — 230 *Gn* cempum, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> cempan — 233 *K*, *Gn* nalæs — 234 *K* compe. — 236 *MS*, *Edd* faruðe — 240 *Gm* misprint fæðme — 241 *MS*, *Edd* morgen torht, *Spr* u, 264, *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 9) morgentorht — 242 *K* bearhtost — 245 *Though there is no indication of an omission in the MS, a word has evidently dropped out after þegnas Th notes the omission but supplies no word to fill it K gescēawode, Gm, Gn., W, B geseah; Siev (PBB x, 517) rejects both readings for metrical reasons and proposes gemette.*

- Wæron hie on gescirplan scipfērendum, 250  
 eorlas onlice ēaliðendum,  
 þonne hie on flōdes fæðm ofer feorne weg  
 on cald wæter cēolum lācað.  
 Hie ðā gegrētte, sē ðe on grēote stōð,  
 fūs on faroðe, fægn reordade 255  
 “ Hwanon cōmon gē cēolum liðan,  
 mācræftige menn, on mereþissan,  
 āne ægflotan? hwanon ēagorstrēam  
 ofer yða gewealc ēowic brōhte? ”  
 Him ðā ondswarode ælmiht God, 260  
 swā þæt ne wiste, sē ðe þæs wordes bād,  
 hwæt sē manna wæs meðelhēgendra,  
 þe hē þær on waroðe |wiðþingode [f 32<sup>b</sup>]  
 “ Wē of Marmedonia mægðe syndon  
 feorran geferede, ūs mid flōde bær 265  
 on hranrāde hēahstefn naca,  
 snellic sāmearh, snūde bewunden,  
 oðþæt wē þissa lēoda land gesohton,  
 wære bewrecene, swā ūs wind fordrāf ”  
 Him þā Andrēas ēaðmōd oncwæð 270  
 “ Wolde ic þē biddan, þēh ic þē bēaga lýt,  
 sincweorðunga, syllan meahte,  
 þæt ðū ūs gebrōhte brante cēole,  
 hēa hornscipe, ofer hwæles ēðel  
 on þære mægðe, bið ðē meorð wið God, 275  
 þæt þū ūs on lāde liðe weorðe ”

251 *Th* eorlum *Gn* anlice — 255 *MS*, *Edd* frægn, *Gn* note ‘frægn = interrogatōnem?’ *Spr* 1, 337 ‘frægn = Frage? oder ist hier frægn Parenthese (so erfuhre ich)?’ *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 9) fægn — 257 *Th* ma cræftige, note mere-cræftige? *Sweet* (*Dict* p 111) mægen? — 260 *MS* ælmiht, standing at end of a line, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* ælmihtig — 261 *Gm*, *K*, *M* se þæs — 262 *M* meðel hegendra — 263 *K* þa (*trans*, ‘whom he there,’ etc) *Gn* wið þingode — 267 *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 9), *Simons* p 130 sunde — 268 *MS* þiss, *Gn*, incorrectly as *MS*, þis — 271 *MS*. biddan inserted above the line *Gm*, *K* þeah

Eft him ondswarode æðelunga helm  
of yðlide, engla scippend  
“ Ne magon þær gewunian widfērende,  
nē þær elpēodige eardes brūcað, 280  
ah in þære ceastre cwealm prōwiað,  
þā ðe feorran þyder feorh gelædaþ,  
ond þū wlnast nū ofer widne mere,  
þæt ðū on þā fægðe þine fēore spilde? ”

Him þā Andrēas āgef ondsware 285  
“ Ūsic lust hweteð on þā lēodmearce,  
mycel mōdes hiht, tō þære mæran byrig,  
þēoden lēofesta, gif ðū ūs þine wilt  
on merefaroðe miltse gecyðan ”

Him ondswarode engla þēoden, 290  
neregend fira, of nacan stefne  
“ Wē ðē ēstlice mid ūs willað  
ferigan frēolice ofer fisce bæð  
efne tō þām lande þær þē lust myneð  
tō gesēcanne, syððan gē ēowre 295  
gafulrædenne āgifen habbað,  
sceattas gescrifene, swā ēow scipweardas,  
āras ofer yðbord, unnan willað.”

Him þā ofstlice Andrēas wið,  
wineþearfende, wordum mæilde 300  
“ Næbbe ic fæted gold nē feohgestrēon,  
welan nē wiste nē wira gespann,  
landes nē locenra bēaga, þæt ic þē mæge lust āhwettan,  
willan in worulde, swā ðū worde becwist.”

280 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) -þeodige — 282 *K* þiðer — 285 *Th* misprint ages —  
286 *K* hwæteð — 287 *K* þærre — 288 *MS* þus, *Edd* þu us — 293 *M* bað  
— 298 *MS*, *Edd* aras, except *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *C* ara — 300 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *B*, *W* wine  
þearfende — 301 *W* as *MS* fæced, but *Nachtr* fæted, *Nap* plainly fæted *Th*,  
*B* fæced, *Gm*, *K*, *M* fætedgold, *Gn*, *W*, *C*, *Bright* (*MLN* n, 80) fæted gold  
— 303 *Schroer* (*Eng Stud* x, 121) and *Siev* (*PBB* x, 314) would omit landes ne.

Him þā beorna breogo,    þær hē on bolcan sæt,    305  
 ofer waroða geweorp    wiðþingode  
 [“ Hū gewearð þē þæs,    wine lēofesta,    [f 33<sup>a</sup>]  
 ðæt ðū særeorgas    sēcan woldes,  
 merestrēama gemet,    māðmum bedæled,  
 ofer cald cleofu    cēoles nēosan?    310  
 Nafast þē tō frōfre    on faroðstræte  
 hlāfes wiste    nē hlūtterne  
 drync tō dugoðe?    Is se drohtað strang  
 þām þe lagolāde    lange cunnaþ ”  
 Ðā him Andrēas    þurh ondsware,    315  
 wīs on gewitte,    wordhord onlēac  
 “ Ne gedafenað þē,    nū þē Dryhten geat  
 welan ond wiste    ond woruldspēde,  
 ðæt ðū ondsware    mid oferhygdum,  
 sēce sārwide,    sēlre bið æghwām,    320  
 þæt hē ēaðmēdum    ellorfūsne  
 oncnāwe cūðlice,    swā þæt Crist bebēad,  
 þēoden þrymfæst    Wē his þegnas synd  
 gecoren tō cempum.    Hē is cyning on riht,  
 wealdend ond wyrhta    wuldorþrymmes,    325  
 ān ēce God    eallra gesceafta,  
 swā hē ealle befēhð    ānes cræfte,  
 hefon ond eorðan,    hālgum mihtum,  
 sigora sēlost.    Hē ðæt sylfa cwæð,  
 fæder folca gehwæs,    ond ūs fēran hēt    330  
 geond ginne grund    gāsta strēonan  
 ‘ Farað nū geond ealle    eorðan scēatas  
 emne swā wide    swā wæter bebūgeð,

306 *Gm* wið þingode — 309 *MS* bedæleð — 310 *M* calde — 312 *MS* the first  
 t of hlūtterne written in above the line — 319 *Gm*, *M* oferhygdum — 323 *MS*,  
*Gm*. We is — 328 *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* heofon — 329 *C* note suggests sellend for sēlost  
 — 332 *MS* plainly sceatas, the c corrected from a t, so also *Nap*, *B*, *W*. as *MS*  
 and in text sceattas, *W* *Nachtr* sceatas, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *C* sceatas.

oððe stedewangas    stræte gelicgaþ,  
 bodiað æfter burgum    beorhtne gelēafan                    335  
 ofer foldan fæðm,    ic ēow freoðo healde.  
 Ne ðurfan gē on þā fōre    frætwe læðan,  
 gold nē seolfor,    ic ēow gōða gehwæs  
 on ēowerne āgenne dōm    ēst āhwette.  
 Nū ðū seolfa miht    sið ūserne    340  
 gehȳran hygeþancol,    ic sceal hraðe cunnan,  
 hwæt |ðū ūs tō duguðum    gedōn wille."                    [f 33<sup>b</sup>]  
       Him þā ondswarode    ēce Dryhten  
 "Gif gē syndon þegnas    þæs þe þrym āhōf  
 ofer middangeard,    swā gē mē secgaþ,    345  
 ond gē gehēoldon þæt ēow    se hālga bēad,  
 þonne ic ēow mid gefēan    ferian wille  
 ofer brimstrēamas,    swā gē bēnan sint."  
 þā in cēol stigon    collenfyrhðe,  
 ellenrōfe,    æghwylcum wearð    350  
 on merefaroðe    mōd geblissod.

## [IV]

Ðā ofer ȳða geswing    Andrēas ongann  
 mereliðendum    miltsa biddan  
 wuldres aldor,    ond þus wordum cwæð ·  
 "Forgife þē Dryhten.    dōmweorðunga,    355  
 willan in worulde    ond in wuldre blæd,  
 Meotud manncynnes,    swā ðū mē hafast  
 on þyssum siðfæte    sybbe gecȳðed ! "

334 *Cos* (*PBB*, xxxi, 9) stedewanga — 337 *Gm*, *K*, *M* durfan, *Gm* as *MS*.  
*durfan*, *M* note þurfon — 340 *Gn* meahht — 342 *MS* dugudum — 343 *MS* ēce,  
*W* æce — 346 *K* places the hemistich after geheoldon — 354 *Th* cwæd — 356  
*Th.*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* on worulde — 358 *B*. sibbe, *B*<sup>2</sup> sybbe



Gesæt him þā se hālga helmwearde nēah,  
 æðele be æðelum Æfre ic ne hýrde 360  
 þon cýmlícor cēol gehladenne  
 hēahgestrēonum Hæleð in sǣton,  
 þeodnas þrymfulle, þegnas wlitige.  
 Ðā reordode ríce þeoden,  
 ēce ælmihtig, heht his engel gān, 365  
 mǣrne maguþegn, ond mete syllan,  
 frēfran fēasceafte ofer flōdes wylm,  
 þæt hīe þē ēað mihton ofer yða geþing  
 drohtap ādrēogan þā gedrēfed wearð,  
 onhrēred hwælmere, hornfisc plegode, 370  
 glād geond gārsecg, ond se grǣga mǣw  
 wælgifre wand, wedercandel swearc,  
 windas wēoxon, wǣgas grundon,  
 |strēamas styredon, strengas gurron, [f 34<sup>a</sup>]  
 wǣdo gewætte Wæteregsa stōd 375  
 þrēata þryðum, þegnas wurdon  
 ācolmōde, ænig ne wēnde,  
 þæt hē lifgende land begēte,  
 þāra þe mid Andrēas on ēagorstrēam  
 cēol gesōhte. Næs him cūð þā gýt, 380  
 hwā þām sǣflotan sund wisode.  
 Him þā se hālga on holmwege  
 ofer ārgeblond Andrēas þā gīt,  
 þegn þeodenhold, þanc gesægde,  
 rīcum rǣsboran, þā hē gereordod wæs 385

359 *MS*, *Edd* holm-, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 9) holm = helm, as in 396<sup>a</sup> 'Wol zu andern' — 360 *W* after hyrde a letter, probably g, has been erased in the *MS* — 362 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *B* insæton — 367 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *W*, *B* feasceafne, *Gn*, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 9) feasceafte — 368 *Gn* hi *Gm* misprint ead — 375 *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 9) wada gewæalce? *Simons* (*p* 148) wædo = wæda — 382 *Th* wa for þa — 384 *MS*, *Th*, *Gn* þeoden hold, *Gm*, *K*, *M* þeodne hold, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr* 11, 586, *W*, *B*, *C* þeodenhold

“ Ðē þissa swāsenda sōðfæst Meotud,  
 lifes lēohtruma, lēan forgilde,  
 weoruda waldend, ond þē wist gife,  
 heofonlicne hlāf, swā ðū hyldo wið mē  
 ofer firigendstrēam frēode gecyðdest ! 390  
 Nū synt geprēade þegnas mīne,  
 geonge gūðrincas, gārsecg hlymmeð,  
 geofon gēotende, grund is onhrēred,  
 dēope gedrēfed, duguð is geswenced,  
 mōðigra mægen myclum gebysgod.” 395

Him of helman oncwæð hæleða Scyppend  
 “ Læt nū geferian flotan ūserne,  
 lid tō lande ofer lagufæsten,  
 ond þonne gebīdan beornas þīne,  
 āras on earde, hwænne ðū eft cyme ” 400

Ēdre him þā eorlas āgēfan ondsware,  
 þegnas þrothearde, þafigan ne woldon,  
 ðæt hīe forlēton æt lides stefnan  
 lēofne lārēow ond him land curon  
 “ Hwider hweorfað wē hlāfordlēase, 405  
 gēomormōde, gōde orfeorme,  
 synnum wunde, gif wē swicað þē?  
 Wē bīoð lāðe on landa gehwām,  
 folcum fracōðe, þonne fira |bearn, [f. 34<sup>b</sup>]  
 ellenrōfe, æht besittaþ, 410  
 hwylc hīra sēlost symle gelæste  
 hlāforde æt hilde, þonne hand ond rond

389 *Th* as *MS* -lice, *text* -licne, so *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* — 390 *Gm*, *K*, *M* firigen-  
 stream — 393 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *W* heofon, *K*, *Gn*, *B*, *C*, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 9)  
 geofon, cf 1508<sup>a</sup>, 1585<sup>b</sup> — 394 *W* as *MS* dugud — 395 *B* miclum — 396 *MS*,  
*Edd* holme, *Gn* note of helme, *Spr* *n*, 94 holm, ‘*der Helm des Schiffes, am*  
*Steuerruder?*’ *C* note ‘*Perhaps mistaken for helman, the helm of the ship*’, *Simons*  
*p* 76 holm = helm, ‘*steuerruder*’, cf 359<sup>b</sup> — 401 *B* agefon, *B*<sup>2</sup> agefan — 405  
*Gm* hlaforlease — 406 *Gm*, *K*, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 9) gōde, *Gn*, *B* gode, *C*. Gode  
 — 411 *K* selast

on beaduwange billum forgrunden  
 æt niðplegan nearu þrōwedon ”  
 þā reordade rice þeoden, 415  
 wærfæst cining, word stunde āhōf  
 “ Gif ðū þegn sie þrymsittendes,  
 wuldorcyninges, swā ðū worde becwist,  
 rece þā gerȳnu, hū hē reordberend  
 lārde under lyfte Lang is þēs siðfæt 420  
 ofer fealuwne flōd, frēfra þīne  
 mæcgas on mōde Mycel is nū gēna  
 lād ofer lagustrēam, land swiðe feorr  
 tō gesēcanne, sund is geblonden,  
 grund wið grēote God ēaðe mæg 425  
 heaðoliðendum helpe gefremman ”  
 Ongan þā glēawlice gingran sīne,  
 wuldorspēdige was, wordum trymman  
 “ Gē þæt gehogodon, þā gē on holm stigon,  
 þæt gē on fāra folc feorh gelæddon, 430  
 ond for Dryhtnes lufan dēað þrōwodon,  
 on Ælmyrcna ēðelrice  
 sāwle gesealdon Ic þæt sylfa wāt,  
 þæt ūs gescyldeð scyppend engla,  
 weoruda Dryhten Wæteregesa sceal, 435  
 geðyð ond geðreatod þurh þrȳdcining,  
 lagu lācende, liðra wyrðan  
 Swā gesæalde iu, þæt wē on sēbāte  
 ofer waruðgewinn wæda cunnedan,  
 faroðridende Frēcne þūhton 440

413 *MS* fore grunden, *Th*, *W* foregrunden — 420 *Gm*, *K*, *M* þeos — 423 *Th*, *Gm*, *M* lað *K* feor — 424 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *M*, *B*, *W*, *C* sand, *Gn*, *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 10) sund — 425 *Gn* note grand? for grund — 426 *Gm* misprint, *M* heado-, *C* hēaðo-, ‘perhaps for heahðo-’ — 433 *W* after sylfa a letter erased in the *MS* — 438 *K* þat — 439 *K*, *Gn* wada *W* as *MS* cunedan, *Nachtr* cunnedan. — 440 *Gm*, *M* -riðende.

egle ēalāda, ēagorstrēamas  
 bēoton bordstæðu, brim oft oncwæð,  
 yð oðerre Hwīlum upp āstōd  
 of brimes bōsme | on bātes fæðm [f. 35<sup>a</sup>]  
 egesa ofer yðlid Ælmihtig þær, 445  
 Meotud mancynnes, on mereþyssan  
 beorht bāsnode. Beornas wurdon  
 forhte on mōde, friðes wīnedon,  
 miltsa tō mærum. Þā sēo menigo ongan  
 clypian on cēole, cyning sōna ārās, 450  
 engla ēadgifa, yðum stilde,  
 wæteres wælmum, windas prēade,  
 sǣ sessade, smylte wurdon  
 merestrēama gemeotu Ðā ure mōd āhlōh  
 syððan wē gesēgon under swegles gang 455  
 windas ond wæggas ond wæterbrōgan  
 forhte gewordne for Frēan egesan  
 Forþan ic ēow tō sōðe secgan wille,  
 þæt nǣfre forlæteð lifgende God  
 eorl on eorðan, gif his ellen dēah." 460  
 Swā hlēoðrode hālig cempa,  
 ðēawum geþancul, þegnas lærde  
 ēadig ōreta, eorlas trymede,  
 oððæt hīe semninga slæp oferēode,  
 mēðe be mæste Mere sweoðerade, 465  
 yða ongun eft oncyrde,  
 hṛeoh holmpracu. Þā þām hālgan wearð  
 æfter gryrehwīle gāst geblissod.

442 *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Syr* 1, 145, *Simons* (p 18) brūn for brim *K* eft — 445 *Th*, *Gm*, *M*  
 yðlið — 452 *Th*, *Gm* windes, *Gm* note windes þreate, or (note to l 453) windas  
 þreade — 453 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm* sæs essade, *Gm* note (1) sæs essadon, (2) sæs essade  
 (3) sæs sessade — 458 *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* omit to — 459 *Gm* misprint forlæted.

## [V]

Ongan ðā reordigan    rædum snottor,  
 wīs on gewitte,    wordlocan onspēonn    470  
 “ Næfre ic sælidan    sēlran mētte,  
 mācræftigran,    þæs ðe mē þynceð,  
 rōwend rōfran,    rædsnotterran,  
 wordes wīsrān    Ic wille þē,  
 eorl unforcūð,    ānre nū gēna    475  
 bēne biddan,    þeah ic þē bēaga lýt,  
 sincweorðunga,    syllan mihte,  
 fætedsinces    wolde ic frēondscipe,  
 þeoden þrym|fæst,    þinne, gif ic mehte,    [f 35<sup>b</sup>]  
 begitan gōdne.    þæs ðū gife hlēotest,    480  
 hāligne hyht    on heofonþrymme,  
 gif ðū lidwērigum    lārna þīnra  
 ēste wyrðest.    Wolde ic ānes tō ðē,  
 cynerōf hæleð,    cræftes nēosan  
 ðæt ðū mē getæhte,    nū þē tīr cyning    485  
 ond miht forgef,    manna scyppend,  
 hū ðū wægflotan    wære bestēmdon,  
 sæhengeste,    sund wīsiġe.  
 Ic wæs on gifeðe    iū ond nū [þā]  
 syxtýne sīðum    on sǣbāte,    490  
 mere hrērendum    mundum frēorig,

473 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* rorend (*K* trans ‘rower’), *Gn Spr* 11, 384 rorend a scribal error for rowend? — 478 *W* between freond and scipe, a letter erased in the MS — 479 *MS* þine, *Th* as *MS* þīne, 1 e þinne *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* mihte — 482 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) -wergum — 483 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *B* est, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Zupitza* (*Angl* 11, 369), *Siev* (*PBB* x, 517), *Bright* (*MLN* 11, 80), *W*, *C* este — 485<sup>b</sup>–486<sup>a</sup> *Cos* (*PBB* xxxi, 10) nu þe tircyning || þa miht forgef — 487 *Gm*, *K* bestēmdan — 489<sup>a</sup> *Gn* note gifeð = geofon? *Spr* 1, 506 on gifeðe, ungefahr? — 489<sup>b</sup> *Siev* (*PBB* x, 517) notes that the half-line is too short, *Holthausen* (*Angl* xiii, 357) reads iu ond nuþa, *Bright* (*MLN* 11, 80) þa iu ond nu — 491 *W* an r erased between mere and hrerendum, *K* merehrerendum

ēagorstrēamas (is ðys āne mā),  
 swā ic æfre ne geseah ænigne mann,  
 þrȳðbearn hæleða, þē gelicne,  
 stēoran ofer stæfnan Strēamwelm hwileð, 495  
 bēateþ brimstæðo, is þēs bāt ful scrid,  
 færeð fāmigheals, fugole gelicost  
 glīdeð on geofone Ic georne wāt,  
 þæt ic æfre ne geseah ofer ȳðlāde  
 on sǣleodan syllicran cræft 500  
 Is þon geliccost swā hē on landsceare  
 stille stande, þær hine storm ne mæg,  
 wind āwecgan, nē wæterflōdas  
 brecan brondstæfne, hwæðere on brim snōweð  
 snel under segle. Ðū eart seolfa geong, 505  
 wīgendra hlēo, nālas wintrum frōd,  
 hafast þēh on fyrhðe, faroðlācende,  
 eorles ondsware, æghwylces canst  
 worda for worulde wislic andgit.”  
 Him ondswarode ēce Dryhten 510  
 “Oft þæt gesǣleð, þæt wē on sǣlāde,  
 scipum under scealcum, |þonne scēor cymeð, [f 36<sup>a</sup>]

494 *MS*, *Edd* hæleð, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 10) hæleða — 495 *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* hwileð, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr*. *ii*, 117, *B*, *C* hwileð — 496 *MS*, *Edd* beateþ; *Spr* *i*, 106, *Holtthausen* (*PBB* *xvii*, 550) beateþ *K*, *B* brim stæðo (*W* incorrectly ascribes also brimstæðo to *B*) *Gm*, *K* þeos. *MS*, *Th*, *W*, *C* ful scrid, *Gm*, *K* fulscrȳd, *Gm* note, *Gn*, *B* fulscnd — 497 *Gm* fereð, *K* fareð — 498 *Gm*, *K* geofene — 499 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *B*, *W* ȳðlāfe, *Gn* *Nachtr* and *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 11), *C* ȳðlade — 500 *MS*, *Th* sǣ leodan, *Gm*, *K* sǣ lǣdan — 501 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *B* gelicost *MS* plainly lansceare, *Th*, *W* as *MS* lansceape (*but W Nachtr* lansceare), *Th* text, as *MS*, *Gm* (seeape, misprint), *K*, *Gn*, *W*, *B*, *C* landsceape, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 11) landsceare *The syllable lan- stands at end of a line in the MS* Cf 68<sup>a</sup>, 1220<sup>b</sup> — 504 *Gn* brontstæfne, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr* *i*, 136 brontstæfne, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 11) brontstæfn[n]e *B* as *MS* sneoweð, *B*<sup>2</sup> snoweð, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *B*, *C* sneoweð — 507 *MS*, *Edd* þe. *Gm*, *K* -lacendes *Nap*, on the left margin of the page in the *MS*, the word leof — 512 *Folio* 35<sup>b</sup> ends with scealcum *Th* thinks a leaf has been cut out; but the other *Edd* print without interruption, cf 43<sup>b</sup>

brecað ofer bæðweg    brimhengestum.  
 Hwilum ūs on Ƴðum    earfoðlice  
 gesæleð on sæwe,    þēh wē sið nesan,    515  
 frēcne gefēran.    Flōdwylm ne mæg  
 manna ænigne    ofer Meotudes ēst  
 lungre gelettan ,    āh him lifes geweald,  
 sē ðe brimu bindeð,    brūne Ƴða  
 ðƳð ond prēatað    Hē þēodum sceal    520  
 racian mid rihte,    sē ðe rodor āhōf  
 ond gefæstnode    folmum sīnum,  
 worhte ond wreðede,    wuldras fylde  
 beorhtne boldwelan ,    swā gebledsod wearð  
 engla ēðel    þurh his ānes miht    525  
 Forþan is gesƳne,    sōð orgete,  
 cūð oncnāwen,    þæt ðū cyninges eart  
 þegen geþungen,    þrymsittendes,  
 forþan þē sōna    sæholm oncnēow,  
 gārsecges begang,    þæt ðū gife hæfdes    530  
 hālges gāstes    Hærn eft onwand,  
 āƳða geblond ,    egesa gestilde,  
 wīdfæðme wæg ,    wædu swæðorodon  
 seoðpan hīe ongēton    þæt ðē God hæfde  
 wære bewunden,    sē ðe wuldres blæd    535  
 gestaðolade    strangum mihtum.''  
     þā hlēoðrade    hālgan stefne  
 cempa collenferhð,    cyning wyrðude,  
 wuldres waldend,    ond þus wordum cwæð  
 “ Wes ðū gebledsod,    brego mancynnes,    540  
 Dryhten Hælend !    Ā þin dōm lyfað !

515 *Edd* siðnesan, *except K* sið nesen, and *B* sið nesan (*W* incorrectly ascribes siðnesan to *B*) — 521 *Gm*, *K* rædan for racian — 523 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* wuldres — 526 *Th* ongeten — 531 *Th* hæmeft — 532 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *K* ar Ƴða — 535 *MS* bewunde — 538 *Th* wyrðude, ‘apparently an error for wer-ðeode’ — 539 *Gm*, *K* wealdend

Ge nēh ge feor is þīn nama hālig,  
 wuldre gewlitedad ofer werþēoda,  
 miltsum gemærsod. Nænig manna is  
 under heofonhwealfe, hæleða cynnes, 545  
 ðætte āreccan mæg oððe rīm wite  
 hū ðrymlīce, þēoda | baldor, [f. 36<sup>b</sup>]  
 gāsta gēocend, þīne gife dælest.  
 Hūru is gesȳne, sāwla nergend,  
 þæt ðū þissum hysse hold gewurde 550  
 ond hine geongne geofum wyrðodest,  
 wīs on gewitte ond wordcwīdum  
 Ic æt efenealdum æfre ne mētte  
 on mōdsefan māran snyttro ”  
 Him ðā of cēole oncwæð cyninga wuldor, 555  
 frægn fromlice fruma ond ende  
 “ Saga, þances glēaw þegn, gif ðū cunne,  
 hū ðæt gewurde be werum twēonum,  
 þæt ðā ārlēasan inwīdþancum,  
 Iūdēa cynn wið Godes bearne 560  
 āhōf hearmcwide Hæleð unsælige  
 nō ðær gelyfdon in hira liffruman,  
 grome gealgmōde, þæt hē God wære,  
 þēah ðe hē wundra feala weorodum gecȳðde,  
 sweotulra ond gesȳnra ; synnige ne mihton 565  
 oncnāwan þæt cynebearn, sē ðe ācenned wearð  
 tō hlēo ond tō hrōðre hæleða cynne,

546 *Gn* note mæge? — 547 *Gm* misprint nu — 550 *W* e of hysse written upon an erasure — 552 *MS* wis ongewitte *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *B*, *Bright* (*MLN* *ii*, 81) wis on gewitte, *Gn* wisan gewitte, *W* wison gewitte — 553 *Th*. æfen — 556 *K*, *B* fruman, *B*<sup>2</sup> fruma — 557 *W* a discoloration in the *MS* partially covers seven lines, especially the words gif (557), tweonū (558), ar (559), wið, bearne (560) These words are only faintly legible in the reproduction — 559 *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 12) reads ðæt arlease — 561 *Siev* (*PBB* *x*, 460) unsælge — 562 *W*. *MS* doubtfully no or ne; *Nap* plainly no, the reproduction is not clearly legible, all *Edd* no, except *B* ne — 564 *Gm*, *K* fela *K* gecȳðde



eallum eorðwarum    Æþelinge wēox  
word ond wīsdōm,    ah hē þāra wundra ā,  
dōmāgende,    dǣl *nāemigne*    570  
frætre þeode    beforan cȳðde.”  
    Him ðā Andrēas    āgef andsware  
“ Hū mihte þæt gewyrðan    in werþeode,  
þæt ðū ne gehȳrde    Hǣlendes miht,  
gumena lēofost,    hū hē his gif cȳðde    575  
geond woruld wīde,    wealdendes bearn?  
Sealde hē dumbum gesprec,    dēafe gehȳrdon,  
healtum ond hrēofum    hyge blissode,  
ðā þe limsēoce    lange wæron,  
wēnge, wanhāle,    wītum gebundene,    580  
æfter burhstedum    blinde gesēgon,  
swā | hē on grundwæge    gumena cynnes    [f.37<sup>a</sup>]  
manige missenlice    men of dēaðe  
worde āwehte    Swylce hē ēac wundra feala  
cynerōf cȳðde    þurh his cræftes miht    585  
Hē gehālgode    for heremægene  
wīn of wætere    ond wendan hēt,  
beornum tō blisse,    on þā beteran gecynd  
Swylce hē āfēdde    of fixum twām  
ond of fif hlāfum    fīra cynnes    590  
fif ðūsendo,    fēðan sǣton,  
rēonigmōde,    reste gefēgon,  
wēnge æfter wāðe,    wiste þēgon,  
menn on moldan,    swā him gemēdost wæs.  
Nū ðū miht gehȳran,    hyse lēofesta,    595  
hū ūs wuldres weard    wordum ond dǣdum

569 *Gn* and for ah — 570 *MS*, *Edd* dom agende *MS*, *Edd* ænigne — 573 *Th* as *MS* gebyrðan — 575 *Gn* gif, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr* 1, 505, gif — 580 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 459) gebundne — 582 *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 12)-wege, — 592 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm* (alternative reonig-), *K*, *W*, *B* reonigmod, *Gn* note, *Siev* (*PBB* x, 506) reonigmod — 593 *Th*, *K* wæðe, *Gm*, *Gn* wæðe

lufode in life, ond þurh lāre spēon  
 tō þām fægeran gefēan, þær frēo mōton,  
 ēadige mid englum, eard weardigan,  
 þā ðe æfter dēaðe Dryhten sēcað." 600

## [VI]

Ðā gēn wēges weard wordhord onlēac,  
 beorn ofer bolcan, beald reordade  
 "Miht ðū mē geseccan, þæt ic sōð wite,  
 hwæðer wealdend þin wundor on eorðan,  
 þā hē gefremede nālas fēam siðum, 605  
 folcum tō frōfre beforan cýðde,  
 þær bisceopas ond bōceras '  
 ond ealdormenn æht besæton,  
 mæðelhægende? Mē þæt þinceð,  
 ðæt hie for æfstum inwit syredon 610  
 þurh dēopne gedwolan, dēofles lārum  
 hæleð hynfūse hýrdon tō georne,  
 wrāðum wærlogan Hie sēo wyrd beswāc,  
 forleolc ond forlærde Nū hie lungre sceolon,  
 wērige mid wērigum, wræce þrōwian, 615  
 bitterne bryne on |banan fæðme." [f. 37<sup>b</sup>]  
 Him ðā Andrēas āgef ondsware  
 "Secge ic ðē tō sōðe, ðæt hē swiðe oft  
 beforan fremede folces ræswum  
 wundor æfter wundre on wera gesiehðe, 620

599 *W.* a discoloration in the MS, covering -se leaf- (595), -fode in life 7 þurh (597), þær (598) Plainly legible in the reproduction — 601 *Edd* wegēs (*K* tr 'ruler of the wave'), cf 632<sup>a</sup> — 607 *Gm*, *K* biscoþas — 608 *Gm*, *K* -men *Gm* æht — 609 *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* -hēgende, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> -hēgende — 614 *K*, *B* incorrectly as *MS* ferleolc, *B*<sup>2</sup> forleolc — 615 *Gm* wræce, *K* wrace — 616 *Sev* (*PBB* x, 406) bitterne *W* on f 37<sup>b</sup> are numerous blots, probably caused by acids, but the text is nowhere illegible. — 618 *Gm*, *K* Sage for Secge

swylce dēogollice Dryhten gumena  
folcraēd fremede, swā hē tō friðe hogode "

Him ondswarode æðelunga helm  
" Miht ðū, wis hæleð, wordum geseccgan,  
māga mōde rōf, mægen þā hē cýðde, 625  
dēormōd on ðigle, ðā mid Dryhten oft,  
rodera rædend, rūne besæton? "

Him þā Andrēas ondsware āgef  
" Hwæt frīnest ðū mē, frēa lēofesta,  
wordum wrætlicum, ond þēh wyrda gehwære 630  
þurh snyttra cræft sōð oncnāwest? "

Ðā gīt him wāges weard wiðþingode  
" Ne frīne ic ðē for tæle nē ðurh tēoncwīde  
on hranrāde, ac mīn hige blissað,  
wynnum wrīdað, þurh þīne wordlæde, 635

æðelum ēcne Nē eom ic āna ðæt,  
ac manna gehwām mōd bið on hyhte,  
fyrhð āfrēfred, þām þe feor oððe nēah  
on mōde geman, hū se māga fremede,  
godbearn on grundum. Gāstas hweorfon, 640  
sōhton siðfreme swegles drēamas,  
engla ēðel þurh þā æðelan miht "

Ēdre him Andrēas āgef ondsware  
" Nū ic on þē sylfum sōð oncnāwe  
wīsdōmes gewit, wundorcræfte 645  
sigespēd geseald (snyttrum blōweð  
beorhtre blisse brēost innanweard),  
nū ic þē sylfum secgan wille

622 *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 12) suggests to friðe hogde — 630 *MS*, *Edd* þe (at end of a line in the *MS*), *Bright* (*MLN* *ii*, 82) þeh = þeah *Siev* (*PBB* *x*, 485) gehwæm, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 12) gehwæs, for gehwære — 631 *Gm*, *K* snyttru — 632 *Gn* wið þingode — 633 *Th* as *MS* frīne, text frīne — 633<sup>b</sup> *MS*, *Gn*, *B* nu for ne — 634 *B* hyge — 635 *Gm*, *K* wordlæde — 637 *MS* gehwæm, *Edd* gehwam, except *B* gehwæm — 640 *Gm*, *K* hwurfon — 645 *K* -crafte

oor ond ende, swā ic þæs æðelinges  
 word ond wīsdōm on wera gemōte 650  
 þurh his sylfes mūð symle gehyrde.  
 Oft ge[sam]nodon sidē herigeas, [f. 38<sup>a</sup>]  
 folc unmæte, tō Frēan dōme,  
 þær hie hyrcnodon hāliges lāre  
 Donne eft gewāt æðelunga helm, 655  
 beorht blædgifa, in bold oðer,  
 ðær him tōgēnes, God herigende,  
 tō ðām meðelstede manige cōmon,  
 snottre selerædend, symble gefēgon,  
 beornas bliðheorte, burhweardes cyme 660  
 Swā gesæalde iu, þæt se sigedēma  
 fērde, Frēa mihtig, næs þær folces mā  
 on siðfate, sinra lēoda,  
 nemne ellefne orettmæcgas,  
 geteled tūrēadige, hē wæs twelfta sylf. 665  
 Þā wē becōmon tō þām cynestōle,  
 þær getimbred wæs tempel Dryhtnes,  
 hēah ond horngēap, hæleðum gefrēge,  
 wuldre gewlitagod. Husworde ongan  
 þurh inwitðanc ealdorsācerd 670  
 herme hyspan, hordlocan onspēon,  
 wrōht webbade, hē on gewitte oncnēow,

649 *Gm*, *Gn*, *K*, *B* ðr — 657 *Gm* to genes. — 658 *K* misprint eomon — 659  
*Th*, *Gm*, *Gn*, *K* snottre. *Th*, *Gm* sele rædend *Edd* symble (*adv*), except *Gn*<sup>2</sup>  
 symblē (*inst*) 'im Glossar ist die Stelle unter symbol (*festivitas*, etc) nachzutragen  
 und unter symble, *adv*, zu streichen' — 660 *W* the two letters after bl- illegible,  
*Nap* reads 18 In the reproduction a rectangular blot extends down the right side  
 of f 38<sup>a</sup> from the fourth to the tenth line and across the ninth and tenth lines to the  
 middle of the page, all of which space is illegible — 663 *K*, *B* -fæte, *B*<sup>2</sup> -fate. —  
 664 *K*, *B* elleffne, *B*<sup>2</sup> ellefne — 665 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) -eadge — 667 *W* and  
*Nachtr* the first e of getimbred illegible in the *MS*, *Nap* legibly but not clearly,  
 atimbred (misprint for atimbred?) — 669 *Gn* us worde, *Spr* 1, 112 husworde,  
*Simons* (p 82, citing *Trautmann*) ūsic worde — 672 *MS* gewitfe

þæt wē sōðfæstes swaðe folgodon,  
 læston lārcwide , hē lungre āhōf  
 wōðe wiðerhȳdig wēan onblonden 675  
 ‘ Hwæt ! gē syndon earme ofer ealle menn ;  
 wadað widlāstas, weorn gefērað  
 earfoðsīða, ellpēodiges nū  
 būtan lēodrihte lārum hȳrað,  
 ēadiges orhlytte æðeling cȳðað, 680  
 secgað sōðlice, þæt mid suna meotudes  
 drohtigen dæghwæmlice. Þæt is duguðum cūð,  
 hwanon þām ordfruman æðelu onwōcon ;  
 hē wæs āfēded on þysse folcsceare,  
 cildgeong ācenned mid his cnēomāgum ; 685  
 þus syndon hāten hāmsittende,  
 fæder ond mōður, þæs wē gefrægen habbað  
 | þurh mōdgemynd, Maria ond Iōsēph. [f. 38<sup>b</sup>]  
 Syndon him on æðelum oðere twēgen  
 beornas geborene, brōðorsybbum, 690  
 suna Iōsēphes, Simon ond Iācōb ’  
 Swā hlēoðrodon hæleða ræswan,  
 dugoð dōmgeorne, dyrnan þōhton  
 Meotudes mihte. Mān eft gehwearf,  
 yfel endelēas, þær hit ær ārās 695

## [VII]

“ þā se þeoden gewāt þegna hēape  
 fram þām meðelstede mihtum geswiðed,  
 dugeða Dryhten, ’ sēcan digol land

676 *B* sindon — 682 *MS* drohtigen *K* -hwamlice — 689 *B* sindon *K* omits  
 on — 690 *W* the final e of geborene indistinct in the *MS* — 693 *W*'s statement,  
*Gm* dugoðdōmgeorne (also l 878), applies only to *Gm*'s note, not to his text —  
 695 *W* a letter erased in the *MS* between yfel and ende — 696 *Th* heare for  
 heape, *Gm*, *K* hearra, *Gn* as emendation heape

Hē þurh wundra feala on þām wēstenne  
 cræfta gecyðde, þæt hē wæs cyning on riht 700  
 ofer middangeard, mægene geswiðed,  
 waldend ond wyrhta wuldorþrymmes,  
 ān ēce God eallra gesceafta.  
 Swylce hē oðerra unrīm cyðde  
 wundorworca on wera gesyhðe. 705  
 “ Syppan eft gewāt oðre siðe  
 getrume mycle, þæt hē in temple gestōd,  
 wuldres aldor. Wordhlēoðor āstāg  
 geond hēahræced, hāliges lāre  
 synnige ne swulgon, þeah hē sōðra swā feala 710  
 tācna gecyðde, þær hīe tō sēgon  
 Swylce hē wrætlice wundor āgræfene,  
 anlicnesse engla sīnra  
 geseh, sigora Frēa, on seles wāge,  
 on twā healfe torhte gefrætwed, 715  
 whitige geworhte Hē worde cwæð  
 ‘ Ðis is anlicnes engelcynna  
 þæs brēmestan [þe] mid þām burgwarum  
 in þære ceastre is, Cheruphim et Seraphim  
 þā on swegeldrēamum syndon nemned, 720  
 fore onsýne ēcan Dryhtnes  
 standað | stiðferðe, stefnum herigað, [f. 39<sup>a</sup>]  
 hālgum hlēoðrum, heofoncyniges þrym,  
 Meotudes mundbyrd. Hēr āmearcod is  
 hāligra hīw, þurh handmægen 725

709 *Gm*, *K* -reced — 710 *Nap*. *MS* hie not he, so plainly in the reproduction, all *Edd* he without remark — 711 *Edd* tosegon, except *Gm*, *Gn* to segon — 712 *MS* wundor āgræfene, *Edd* wundoragræfene, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 12) wundrum agræfene, *Gn* *Nachtr* wundor agræfene? but *Spr* *ii*, 752, wundoragræfene — 713<sup>b</sup> *Holthausen* (*PBB* *xvii*, 550) supplies þe — 719<sup>a</sup> *Root* (*p* 57) omits is — 719 *Gn*, *K*, *B* ond, *B* incorrectly as *MS*. 7; *B*<sup>2</sup> et — 722 *Th*, *Gm.*, *K*, *Gn.* -ferhðe

āwriten on wealle wuldres þegnas.  
 Þā gēn worde cwæð weoruda Dryhten,  
 heofonhālig gāst, fore þām heremægene  
 ‘ Nū ic bebēode bēacen ætȳwan,  
 wundor geweorðan on wera gemange, 730  
 ðæt þēos onlicnes eorðan sēce,  
 whitig of wāge, ond word sprece,  
 secge sōðcwidum (þȳ sceolon gelyfan  
 eorlas on cȳððe) hwæt mīn æðelo sīen.’  
 “ Ne dorste þā forhylman Hælendes bebod 735  
 wundor fore weorodum, ac of wealle āhlēop,  
 frōd fyrngeweorc, þæt hē on foldan stōd,  
 stān fram stāne, stefn æfter cwōm,  
 hlūd þurh heardne, hlēoðor dynede,  
 wordum wēnde (wrætlic pūhte 740  
 stiðhycgendum stānes ongin),  
 septe sācerdas sweotolum tācnum,  
 wītig werede ond worde cwæð  
 ‘ Gē synd unlæde, earmra geþohta  
 searowum beswicene, oððe sēl nyton, 745  
 mōde gemyrde, gē mon cīgað  
 Godes ēce bearn, þone þe grund ond sund,  
 heofon ond eorðan ond hrēo wāgas,  
 salte sǣstrēamas ond swegl uppe  
 āmearcode mundum sīnum. 750  
 Þis is se ilca ealwalda God,

726 *Holthausen* (*PBB* *xxi*, 550) þegna — 733 *After* sōðcwidum *Gn* supposes an omission in the narrative, and supplies as follows secge sōðcwidum, [þæt ic eom sunu godes], þȳ sceolon gelyfan [leoda ræswan] etc *There is no indication of a break in the MS* — 736 *Th*, *Gm* ahleow, *Gm* note ahleop — 740 *Th* as *MS* þrætlic, text wrætlic — 741 *Gn* ongin — 742 *MS* plainly septe, *Th* text septe, note ‘*MS* septe or sewte, uncertain’, *Gm* text septe, but note sewte or sewde, *Gn* sewde, *K* sewte saverdas (*tr* ‘*It taught the priests*’) — 743 *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 12) wenede — 744 *K* earma, *B* incorrectly earma as *MS* — 746 *MS*, *Edd* ge monetigað, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 12) ge mon cīgað — 747 *MS*, *Edd* ond before þone

ðone on fyrndagum fæderas cūðon,  
 hē Ābrahāme ond Īsāce  
 ond Iōcōbe gife bryttode,  
 welum weorðode, wordum sægde 755  
 ærest Hābrahāme æðeles geþingu,  
 þæt of his cynne cenned sceolde  
 weorðan wuldres God. Is sēo wyrd mid ēow  
 open, orgete, magan ēagum nū  
 gesēon sigores God, swegles āgend' 760  
 "Æfter þyssum |wordum weorud hlosnode [f 39<sup>b</sup>]  
 geond þæt sīde sel, swīgodon ealle  
 Ðā ðā yldestan eft ongunnon  
 secgan synfulle (sōð ne oncnēowan),  
 þæt hit drȳcræftum gedōn wære, 765  
 scingelācum, þæt se scȳna stān  
 mælde for mannum Mān wrīdode  
 geond beorna brēost, brandhāta nīð  
 wēoll on gewitte, weorm blædum fæg,  
 āttor ælfæle þær orcnāwe [wearð] 770  
 þurh tēoncwide twēogende mōd,  
 mæcga misgehygd morðre bewunden  
 " Ðā se þēoden bebēad þrȳðweorc faran,  
 stān [on] stræte of stedewange,  
 ond forð gān foldweg tredan, 775

754 *MS* iocobe, *Th* iacobe; *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* Jacobe, *B* Iacobe, *W* Iocobe *Th*,  
*Gn* gyfe — 756 *Gn* Abrahame — 758 *Nap* as *MS* ys, but the reproduction reads  
*plainly* is — 759 *Gm* note ongete — 761 *K* Æfer — 769 *K*. fæg — 770 *MS*  
 ælfæle, *B* incorrectly as *MS* alfæle, *Th*, *Gm*, *Gn* ælfæle, *K*, *B* alfæle, *B*<sup>2</sup>  
 ælfæle, *Gm* note ælfæle ? ælfealo ?, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 13) citing Kern (*Tuolk* *bydr*  
*1*, 206), ealfe[a]lo *Th*, *Gm* note oncnawe *Gm*, *K*, *B* supply wearð after, *Gn*,  
*W* before, orcnawe, *Th* makes no addition to the text In the *MS* orcnawe stands  
 at the end of a line. — 772 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* misgehyd — 774 *K*, *Siew* (*PBB* *x*,  
 517), *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 13) stan [on] stræte In the *MS* stan stands at the end of  
 a line — 775 *MS*, *Gn*, *W* forð gan; *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *B* forðgan; *Siew* (*PBB* *x*,  
 477) would resolve the contraction



grēne grundas, Godes ærendu  
 lārum lædan on þā lēodmearce  
 tō Channanēum, cyninges worde  
 bēodan Hābrahāme mid his eaforum twæm  
 of eorðscræfe ærest fremman, 780  
 lætan landreste, leoðo gadrigean,  
 gāste onfōn ond geogoðhāde,  
 ednīwinga andweard cuman,  
 frōde fyrnweotan, folce gecyðan,  
 hwylcne hīe God mihtum ongīten hæfdon. 785  
 Gewāt hē þā fēran, swā him Frēa mihtig,  
 scyppend wera, gescrifen hæfde,  
 ofer mearcwaðu, þæt hē on Mambre becōm  
 beorhte blīcan, swā him bebēad Meotud,  
 þær þā lichoman lange prāge, 790  
 hēahfædera hrā, beheled wæron.  
 Hēt þā ofstlice ūp āstandan  
 Hābrahām ond Īsaac, æðeling þridan  
 Iācōb of grēote tō Godes geþinge,  
 snēome of slæpe þæm fæstan, hēt hīe tō þām sīðe gyrwan, 795  
 fāran tō Frēan dōme, sceoldon hīe þām folce gecyðan,  
 hwā æt frumsceafte furðum tēode  
 eorðan eallgrēne ond ūpheofon,  
 hwær |se wealdend wære, þe þæt weorc staðolade. [f. 40<sup>a</sup>]  
 Ne dorston þā gelettan leng ōwihte 800  
 wuldorcyniges word, geweotan ðā ðā witigan prȳ

776 *Th* incorrectly as *MS* ærendu — 779 *Gn* Abrahame — 780 *K*, *Gn* ærist  
 — 782 *Trautmann* (*Kynewulf*, p 29) would supply ond before gaste *MS*, *Edd*  
 onfon, *Siev* (*PBB* x, 476) would give the uncontracted form *K* geogoðhades,  
*Gn* geogoðhade — 783 *K* ednīwinge — 785 *Gn* note god-mihtum? also *Spr* n,  
 802 without question — 788 *Gm* note, *K* mearcwaðu, *Gn* incorrectly ascribes -wadu  
 to *Gm*, *K* *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* Membre — 790 *W* after þær a second þær erased in  
 the *MS* — 792 *K* ofstlice *Th*, *K*, *B* upastandan — 796 *Gm* sceolden — 798 *K*.  
 ealgrene — 801 *K* -cyniges *B* geweoton, *B*<sup>2</sup> geweotan

mōdige mearcland tredan, forlætan moldern wunigean  
 open eorðscræfu, woldon hīe ædre gecyðan  
 frumweorca fæder þā þæt folc gewearð  
 egesan geāclod, þær þā æðelingas 805  
 wordum weorðodon wuldres aldor.  
 Hīe ðā ricene hēt rīces hyrde  
 tō ēadwelan oþre sīðe  
 sēcan mid sybbe swegles drēamas,  
 ond þæs tō wīdan fēore willum nēotan. 810  
 “Nū ðū miht gehýran, hyse lēofesta,  
 hū hē wundra worn wordum cýðde,  
 swā þeah ne gelyfdon lārum sīnum  
 mōdblīnde menn. Ic wāt manig nū gýt  
 mycel mære spell, ðe se māga fremede, 815  
 rodera rædend, ðā ðū āræfnan ne miht,  
 hreðre behabban, hygeþances glēaw ”  
 Þus Andrēas ondlangne dæg  
 herede hlēoðorcwīdum hāhges lāre,  
 oððæt hīne semninga slæp oferēode 820  
 on hronrāde heofoncyninge nēh.

## [VIII]

Ðā gelædan hēt lifes brytta  
 ofer yða geþræc englās sīne,  
 fæðmum ferigean on fæder wære  
 lēofne mid lissum ofer lagufæsten, 825  
 oððæt sǣwērige slæp oferēode.  
 Þurh lyftgelāc on land becwōm

802 *K* forlæton, *Gn* note forlæton *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *B* place wunigean in 803<sup>a</sup>,  
*Gn*, *W* in 802<sup>b</sup> — 810 *MS* plainly (so also *Nap*) þæs, *Edd* þær — 814 *K* men —  
 819 *MS* berede, so *Th*, *W*, *Nap* as *MS* herede, *Th*, *B*, *W* berede, *Gm*, *Gn*,  
*C*, *Bright* (*MLN* ii, 82), *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 13) herede — 826 *Siev.* (*PBB* x, 460)  
 -werge — 827 *Gn* lyft gelac, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> lyftgelac

tō þære ceastre, þe him cining engla  
 ðā þā aras siðigean,  
 eadige on upweg, eðles neosan 830  
 Lēton þone hālgan be herestræte  
 swefan on sybbe under swegles hlēo,  
 bliðne bīdan burhwealle nēh,  
 his niðhetum, nihtlangne fyrst,  
 oðþæt Dryhten |forlēt dægandelle [f 40<sup>b</sup>] 835  
 scīre scīnan. Sceadu sweðerodon,  
 wonn under wolcnum þā cōm wederes blæst,  
 hādor heofonlēoma, ofer hofu blican.  
 Onwōc þā wīges heard, wang scēawode , 840  
 fore burggeatum beorgas stēape,  
 hleoðu hlifodon , ymbe hārne stān  
 tīgelfāgan trafu, torras stōdon,  
 windige weallas. þā se wīsa oncnēow,  
 þæt hē Marmedonia mægðe hæfde  
 siðe gesōhte, swā him sylf bebēad, 845

828 *Th*, after engla, 'Some lines are wanting here, though there is no hiatus in the *MS*' *Gm*, *K* leave space for one and a half lines after engla. *Gn* fills in as follows

þe him cining engla  
 [in Achaia ær getacnode]  
 [Gewiton] þa þa aras [eft] siðigean, etc

*W* admits the break in the narrative but does not supply the omission. *C* omits ll 826–831, saying they 'are probably corrupt and are therefore omitted'. *B* alone sees no interruption of the narrative here, he arranges as follows

þe him cining engla þa þa  
 aras siðigean eadige on upweg, eðles neosan

*B*<sup>2</sup> emends the second þa, l 829<sup>b</sup>, to þær, and reads

þe him cining  
 engla þa þær aras siðigean, etc

The hypothetical line following l 828 is not counted in the line-numbering — 838 *MS* le<sup>o</sup>ma — 841 *MS* hleoðu, but *Th* hleoðū, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, consequently, hleoðum — 843 *MS*, *Edd* wis, *Gm* note 'se wis fūr se visa?'

pā hē him fōre gescrāf, fæder mancynnes  
 Geseh hē pā on grēote gingran sine,  
 beornas beadurōfe, biryhte him  
 swefan on slæpe Hē sōna ongann  
 wīgend weccēan, ond worde cwæð · 850  
 “ Ic ēow secgan mæg sōð orgete,  
 pæt ūs gystrandæge on geofones strēam  
 ofer ārwelan æðeling ferede  
 In pām cēole wæs cynninga wuldor,  
 waldend werðeode, ic his word oncnēow, 855  
 pēh hē his mægwlite bemiden hæfde ”  
 Him pā æðelingas ondsweorodon,  
 geonge gēncwidum, gāstgerȳnum  
 “ Wē ðē, Andrēas, ēaðe gecyðað  
 sið ūserne, pæt ðū sylfa miht 860  
 ongitan glēawlice gāstgehygdum  
 Ūs sǣwēnge slǣp oferēode,  
 pā cōmon earnas ofer ȳða wylm  
 [faran] on flyhte, feðerum hrēmige,  
 ūs ofslǣpendum sǣwle ābrugdon, 865  
 mid gefēan feredon flyhte on lyfte,  
 brehtnum blīðe, beorhte ond liðe,  
 lissum lufodon ond in lofe wunedon,  
 pǣr wæs singāl sang ond swegles gong,

846 *MS*, *Nap* pā he him, *Th.* pā him, *Gm*, *K*, *B*, *W* þam him; *Gn* replaces pā by and, *C* changes pā (i e þam) to þa = when *Th* fore-gescraf, *Gm*, *Gn*, *C* foregescraf, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> (fore = *zuvor*), *B*, *W* fore gescraf *Cos* (*PBB* xxxi, 13) *sup-places* þa before fore — 852 *MS*, *Th*, *B* gyrstran, *Edd* gystran dæge, *except C* gystrandæge — 855 *MS*, *Gm*, *K*, *B* weorðode, *Th* suggests wer-ðeode (cf 538<sup>a</sup>), *Gn* werþeoda, *W*, *C* werðeode, *Brighi* (*MLN* ii, 82) weoroda — 859 *Gm*, *K*, *B* eade, *B*<sup>2</sup> eaðe — 862 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) sǣwerge — 864 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *B*, *W* wylm on flyhte, *without break*, *Gn*, *C* *supply* faran before on flyhte *Siev* (*PBB* x, 459) hremge — 865 *Edd* of slǣpendum — 867 *K* brehtum — 868 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* hi for in — 869 *C* ond *miswritten* for geond?, *but the MS* uses the customary abbreviation *Simons* (*p* 131) suggests sweges for swegles

whitig weoroda hēap    ond wuldres þrēat.    870  
 Ūtan ymbe æðelne    englas stōdon,  
 þegnas ymb þēoden,    þūsendmælum,  
 heredon on hēhðo    hālgan stefne  
 dryhtna Dryhten,    drēam wæs on hyhte.  
 Wē ðær |hēahfæderas    hālige oncnēowon [f 41<sup>a</sup>]    875  
 ond martyra    mægen unlytel,  
 sungon sigedryhtne    sōðfæstlic lof,  
 dugoð dōmgeorne.    þær wæs Dāuid mid,  
 ēadig oretta,    Essāges sunu,  
 for Crīst cumen,    cining Israhēla,    880  
 swylce wē gesēgon    for suna Meotudes,  
 æðelum ēcne,    ēowic standan,  
 twelfe getealde,    tīrēadige hæleð,  
 ēow þegnodon    þrymsittende,  
 hālige hēahenglas,    ðām bið hæleða well,    885  
 þe þāra blissa    brūcan mōton.  
 þær wæs wuldres wynn,    wīgendra þrym,  
 æðelic onginn,    næs þær ænigum gewinn.  
 þām bið wræcsið witod,    wīte geopenad,  
 þe þāra [gefēana] sceal    fremde weorðan,    890  
 hēan hwearfian,    þonne heonon gangaþ”  
     þā wæs mōdsefa    myclum gebhssod  
 hāliges on hreðre,    syðþan hlēoðorcwide  
 gingran gehyrdon,    þæt hie God wolde  
 onmunan swā mycles    ofer menn ealle,    895  
 ond þæt word gecwæð    wīgendra hlēo  
 “Nū ic, God Dryhten,    ongīten hæbbe,  
 þæt ðū on faroðstræte    feor ne wære,  
 cyninga wuldur,    þā ic on cēol gestāh,

871 *T*h utan-ymbe — 874 *S*imons (*p* 85) reads h̄yhðe? — 889 *MS* þe erased after  
 geopenad — 890<sup>a</sup> *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *W* insert gefeana after þara, *Bright* (*MLN* 11, 82)  
 frean *K* seal — 891 *Gn* gangeð — 894 *K* gehyrde — 899 *Gm*, *K* wuldor

ðēh ic on ȳðfare, engla þēoden, 900  
 gāsta gēocend, ongitan ne cūðe  
 Weorð mē nū milde, Meotud ælmihtig,  
 bliðe, beorht cyning ! Ic on brimstrēame  
 spræc worda worn, wāt æfter nū,  
 hwā mē wyrðmyndum on wudubāte 905  
 ferede ofer flōdas, þæt is frōfre gāst  
 hæleða cynne þær is help gearu,  
 milts æt mærum, manna gehwylcum,  
 sigorspēd geseald, þām þe sēceð tō him ”  
 Ðā him fore ēagum onsýne wearð 910  
 æðeling ððýwed in þā ilcan tid,  
 cining cwicera gehwæs, þurh cnihtes hād,  
 þā hē worde cwæð, wuldres aldor  
 “ Wes ðū, |Andrēas, hāl, mid þās willgedryht, [f 41<sup>b</sup>]  
 ferðgefēonde ! Ic þē friðe healde, 915  
 þæt þē ne mōton māngeniðlan,  
 grame grynsmiðas, gāste gesceððan ”  
 Fēoll þā tō foldan, frioðo wilnode  
 wordum wīs hæleð, winedryhten frægn  
 “ Hū geworhte ic þæt, waldend fira, 920  
 synnig wið seolfne, sāwla nergend,  
 þæt ic þē swā gōdne ongitan ne meahte  
 on wægfare, þær ic worda gespræc,  
 mīnra for Meotude, mā þonne ic sceolde? ”  
 Him andswarode ealwalda God 925  
 “ Nō ðū swā swiðe synne gefremedest,  
 swā ðū in Achaiā ondsæc dydest,  
 ðæt ðū on feorwegas fēran ne cūðe

905 *Gn* weorðmyndum — 907 *MS* þær<sup>is</sup> help — 910 *Th.* on syne. *MS*, *Th*  
 werð — 915 *Th*, *Gm*, *Gn*, *W* ferð gefeonde, but *W* l 1584<sup>a</sup> reads ferhðgefeonde  
*Gn* forð? for ferð — 918 *K* freoðo — 925 *B* ond, *B*<sup>2</sup> as *MS* — 927 *MS*  
 ach<sup>a</sup>ia — 928 *K* feorwegas

nē in þā ceastre becuman mehte,  
 þing gehēgan þrēora nihta 930  
 fyrstgearnarces, swā ic þē fēran hēt  
 ofer wēga gewinn Wāst nū þē gearwor,  
 þæt ic ēaðe mæg ānra gehwylcne  
 fremman ond fyrþran frēonda mīnra  
 on landa gehwylc, þær mē lēofost bið. 935  
 Āris nū hrædlice, ræd ædre ongt,  
 beorn gebledsod, swā þē beorht fæder  
 geweorðað wuldorgifum tō wīdan aldre,  
 cræfte ond mihte. Ðū in þā ceastre gong  
 under burglocan, þær þin brōðor is. 940  
 Wāt ic Māthēus þurh mænra hand  
 hrinen heorudolgum, hēafodmāgan  
 searonettum beseted, þū hine sēcan scealt,  
 lēofne ālȳsan of lāðra hete  
 ond eal þæt mancynn, þe him mid wunige, 945  
 elþeodigra inwitwrasnum,  
 bealuwe gebundene. Him sceal bōt hraðe  
 weorþan in worulde ond in wuldre lēan,  
 swā ic him sylfum ær secgende wæs.

## [IX]

“[Nū ðū, Andrēas, scealt ēdre genēðan [f 42<sup>a</sup>] 950  
 in gramra gripe, is þē gūð weotod,  
 heardum heoruswengum scel þin hrā dæled

929 *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *B* meahte, *B*<sup>2</sup> mehte — 932 *Gm*, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> wega — 942 *MS*, *Edd* hrinan *MS*, *Th*, *Gm* -magū, *1 e* magum, *B*, *W* -magu, *Gm* note, *K*, *Gn* -magan — 943 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm* -mettum, *Gm* note, *Edd* -nettum — 945 *K* manegu for mancynn — 946 *K* ælþeodigra — 947 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 459) gebundne, *Holthausen* (*PBB* xvi, 550) gebunden — 949 *Nap* at lower edge of f 4r<sup>b</sup> the word eadgþ, afterwards erased — 952 *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *B* sceal *MS*, *Edd* dælan, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos* (*PBB* xxx, 13) dæled

wundum weorðan, wættre geliccost  
 faran flōde blōd Hīe þin feorh ne magon  
 deaðe gedælan, þēh ðū drype ðolie, 955  
 synnigra slege Ðū þæt sār āber,  
 ne læt þē āhweorfan hæðenra þrym,  
 grim gārgewinn, þæt ðū Gode swīce,  
 Dryhtne þinum Wes ā dōmes georn,  
 læt ðē on gemyndum, hū þæt manegum wearð 960  
 fira gefrēge geond feala landa,  
 þæt mē bysmredon bennum fæstne  
 weras wansælige, wordum tyrgdon,  
 slōgon ond swungon, synnige ne mihton  
 þurh sārwide sōð gecyðan 965  
 þā ic mid Iūdēum gealgan þehte  
 (rōd wæs āræred), þær rinca sum  
 of minre sidan swāt üt forlēt,  
 drēor tō foldan Ic ādrēah feala  
 yrnþa ofer eorðan, wolde ic ēow on ðon 970  
 þurh bliðne hige bysne onstellen,  
 swā on ellþeode ywed wyrðeð.  
 Manige syndon in þysse mæran byrig,  
 þāra þe ðū gehweorfest tō heofonlēohte  
 þurh minne naman, þēah hīe morðres feala 975  
 in fyrndagum gefremed habban."  
 Gewāt him þā se hālga heofonas sēcan,  
 eallra cyninga cining, þone clænan hām,  
 ēaðmēdum upp, þær is ār gelang  
 fira gehwylcum, þām þe hīe findan cann. 980  
 Ðā wæs gemyndig mōdgeþyldig,  
 beorn beaduwe heard, ēode in burh hraðe

953 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*, *B* geliccost — 956 *Gm*, *K*, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr* 11, 455 slage —  
 962 *Gn* hu me, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> þæt me *Gn*, *W* bendum — 963 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) -sælge  
 — 970 *Gm omits* ic — 971 *Gn* bysen — 972 *Gm* yweð — 976 *K* habben



anræd ðretta, elne gefyrðred,  
 māga mōde rōf, Meotude getrēowe,  
 stōp on stræte (stig wīsode), 985  
 swā him nænig gumena ongitan ne mihte,  
 |synfulra gesēon Hæfde sigora weard [f. 42<sup>b</sup>]  
 on þām wangstede wære betolden  
 lēofne lēodfruman mid lofe sinum.  
 Hæfde þā se æðeling in geþrunge, 990  
 Cristes cempa, carcerne nēh.  
 Geseh hē hæðenra hlōð ætgædere,  
 fore hlindura hyrdas standan,  
 seofone ætsomne Ealle swylt fornam,  
 druron dōmlēase, dēaðræs forfēng 995  
 hæleð *heorodrēorige* Ðā se hālga gebæd  
 bilwytne fæder, brēostgehygdum  
 herede 'on hēhðo heofoncyniges [þrym],  
 Godes dryhtendōm Duru sōna onarn  
 þurh handhrine hālges gāstes, 1000  
 ond þær in ēode, elnes gemyndig,  
 hæle hildedēor, hæðene swæfon,  
 drēore druncne, dēaðwang rudon.  
 Geseh hē Māthēus in þām morðorcofan,  
 hæleð higerōfne under heolstorlocan, 1005  
 secgan Dryhtne lof, dōmweorðinga

986 *Gn* note hime for him — 987 *B* ond synfulra, *B*<sup>2</sup> omits ond — 990 *Edd* ingeþrunge — 996 *MS, B* -deong, *Edd* -dreong — 998 *MS* heofoncyniges gōd dryhten dom with no indication of an omission *Th, Gm, K, Gn* god dryhten dōm, *B, W* dryhtendom, *Gn* *Nachtr*, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> godes dryhtendom? so also *Spr* 1, 208, adding 'wol kaum god-dryhten dom' *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 13) heofoncyniges þrym, dryhtendom godes, or heofonrices god, dryhtnes ecne dom? *Simons* (*p* 28) for dryhtendom reads in dryhtnes domas (gōd evidently intended to follow heofoncyniges in 998<sup>b</sup>) *Buttenweser* (*p* 46) heofoncyniges þrym, dryhtlic dom godes — 999 *K* dura — 1000 *MS, Th* hanhrine — 1001 *Edd*, except *K*, meode — 1003 *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 13) beore for dreore *MS, Th., Gm.* deað wangrudon; *K* deaðwang ndon

engla ðeodne. Hē ðær āna sæt  
 geohðum gēomor in þām gnornhofe ;  
 geseh þā under swegle swæsne gefēran,  
 hālig hāligne , hyht wæs geniwad 1010  
 Arās þā tōgēnes, Gode þancade,  
 þæs ðe hie onsunde æfre mōston  
 gesēon under sunnan. Syb wæs gemæne  
 bām þām gebrōðrum, blis edniwe ,  
 æghwæðer oðerne earne beþehte, 1015  
 cyston hie ond clypton. Criste wæron bēgen  
 lēofe on mōde , hie lēoht ymbscān  
 hālig ond heofontorht , hreðor innan wæs  
 wynnum āwelled þā worde ongan  
 ærest Andrēas æðelne gefēran 1020  
 on clustorcleofan mid cwide sinum  
 grētan godfyrhtne , sæde him gūðgeðingu,  
 feohtan fāra monna “ Nū is þīn folc on luste,  
 hæleð hyder on

\* \* \*

[gewyrht eardes nēosan ” [f 43<sup>a</sup>] 1025

Æfter þyssum wordum wuldres þegnas,  
 bēgen þā gebrōðor, tō gebede hylton,  
 sendon hira bēne fore bearn Godes.  
 Swylce se hālgā in þām hearmlocan  
 his God grētte ond him gēoce bæd, 1030  
 Hælend helpe, ær þan hrā crunge  
 fore hæðenra hildeþrymme,  
 ond þā gelædde of leoðobendum

1008 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* geoðum, *Gn* note, *Siev* (*PBB* x, 500) geohðum *K* im  
 — 1009 *Gm*, *K* þær for þa — 1012 *K* þæt for þæs — 1018 *K*. hreðer — 1019 *B*,  
*W* winnum — 1022 *Gm* -gedingu, corrected on p 182 — 1023 *Edd*, *Nap* a folio  
 excised after f 42 *K* indicates a break in the sense both before and after gewyrht  
 — 1030 *MS* grete — 1031 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* ærþon. *MS* crunġ, *W*. as *MS* crung,  
 corrected *Nachtr* p 564 — 1032 *Gm* hilde þrymme

fram þām fæstenne on frið Dryhtnes  
 tū ond hundtēontig geteled rime, 1035  
 swylce feowertig,  
 generede fram niðe (þær hē nænigne forlēt  
 under burglocan bennum fæstne),  
 ond þær wifa þa gýt, weorodes tō ēacan,  
 ānes wana þe fiftig 1040  
 forhte gefreoðode Fægen wæron siðes,  
 lungre lēordan, nālas leng biðon  
 in þām gnornhofe gūðgeþingo  
 Gewāt þa Māthēus menigo lædan  
 on gehyld Godes, swā him se hālga bebēad, 1045  
 weorod on wilsīð wolcnum beþehte,

1036 *MS* swylce feowertig generede etc with no indication of omission *Th* after feowertig 'a line [ $\frac{1}{2}$  a half-line, for which he leaves space] is wanting', *Gm*, *K* as *Th*, *Gn* inserts eac feorcundra to complete the line *B* arranges

swylce feowertig generede fram niðe  
 þær he nænige forlet under burglocan  
 bennum fæstne on, þær wifa þa gyt  
 weorodes to eacan, anes wana fiftig  
 forhte gefreoðode

*W* reads

swylce seofontig  
 generede fram niðe þær he nænigne forlet  
 under burglocan bendum fæstne,  
 ond þær wifa þa gyt weorodes to eacan  
 anes wana þe fiftig  
 forhte gefreoðode

*Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 13) swylce feowertig [eac feorrancumene] See Notes — 1037 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *B* nænige — 1038 *Th*, *K*, *Gn*, *W* bendum — 1039 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *B* on for ond, *Gm* note ond, *K* ne *K*, *B* to-eacan — 1040 *MS*, with no indication of omission, anes wana þe fiftig, anes ends a line, wana begins following line, *W* incorrectly, 'wana þe fiftig mitten in der Zeile' *Th*, after wana, 'the want of connection in the sense and of alliteration shows that this part of the *MS* is very defective', *Gm* and *K* suppose that more than one line is wanting *Gn* omits þe and supplies ealra, readings anes wana ealra fiftig, etc For *B* and *W* cf above, l 1036 ff, *B*<sup>2</sup>, changing þær to þæm, 1039<sup>a</sup>, reads anes wana orwyrþe fiftig etc *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 14) anes wana efne fiftig, but considers the first half-line still defective

þē læs him scyldhatan    scyððan cōmon  
 mid earhfare,    ealdgeniðlan.  
 þær þā mōðigan mid him    mæðel gehēdan,  
 trēowgeþoftan,    ær hie on tū hweorfan,    1050  
 ægðer þāra eorla    oðrum trymeðe  
 heofonrīces hyht,    helle wītu  
 wordum werede    Swā ðā wīgend mid him,  
 hæleð higerōfe,    hālgum stefnum  
 cempan çoste    cynīng weorðadon,    1055  
 wyrda waldend,    þæs wuldres ne bið  
 æfre mid eldum    ende befangen.

## [X]

Gewāt him þā Andrēas    inn on ceastre  
 glædmōð gangan,    tō þæs ðe hē gramra gemōt,  
 fāra folc|mægen,    gefrægen hæfde,    [f 43<sup>b</sup>] 1060  
 oððæt hē gemette    be mearcþaðe  
 standan stræte nēah    stapul ærenne.  
 Gesæt him þā be healfe,    hæfde hlūttre lufan,  
 ēce ūpgemynd    engla blisse,  
 þanon bāsnode    under burhlocan,    1065  
 hwæt him gūðweorca    gifeðe wurde.  
 þā gesamnedon    sīde herigeas,  
 folces frumgāras,    tō þām fæstenne  
 wærlēasra werod    wæpnum cōmon,  
 hæðne hildfrecan,    tō þæs þā hæftas ær    1070  
 under hlinscuwan    hearm þrōwedon.  
 Wēndan ond woldon,    wiðerhycgende,  
 þæt hie on elpēodīgum    æt geworhton,

1047 *Gn* þy — 1050 *Gn* hi — 1055 *K* weorðodon — 1058 *Th* inn-on — 1059  
*Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* as *MS* gangen, *text* gangan — 1064 *MS* ecce, cf 637<sup>a</sup>, *Edd* ece  
 — 1070 *K* þe for þa — 1072 *Th* -hycende — 1073 *Sev* (*PBB* x, 460) -þeodgum.

weotude wiste, him sēo wēn gelāh,  
 syððan mid corðre carcernes duru 1075  
 eorre æsberend opene fundon,  
 onhliden hamera geweorc, hyrdas dēade.  
 Hie þā unhyðige eft gecyrdon,  
 luste belorene, lāðspell beran,  
 sægdon þām folce, þæt ðær feorcundra, 1080  
 ellreordigra, æmigne tō lāfe  
 in carcerne cwicne ne gemetton,  
 ah þær heorodrēonge hyrdas lāgan,  
 gæsne on grēote, gāste berofene,  
 fægra flæschaman þā wearð forht manig 1085  
 for þām færspele folces ræswa,  
 hēan, hygegēomor, hungres on wēnum,  
 blātes beodgastes Nyston beteran ræd,  
 þonne hie þā behidenan him to lifnere,  
 [dēade] gefeormedon, duruþegnum wearð 1090  
 in āne tid eallum ætsomne  
 þurh heard gelāc hildbedd stýred.  
 Ðā ic lungre gefrægn lēode tōsomne  
 burgwaru bannan; beornas cōmon,  
 wiggendra þrēat, wicgum gengan, 1095

1074 *Gm*, *Ettm*, *K*, *Gn*, *B*, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 14) geleah, *B*<sup>2</sup> gelah — 1075 *K*  
 dura — 1078 *Th*, *Gm*, *Ettm*, *K*, *Gn* unhyðige, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> hyðige, *Siev* (*PBB* *x*, 460)  
 -hyðige — 1079 *Th*, *Gm*, *Gn*, *W* lað spell, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> laðspell — 1080 *Holthausen*  
 (*PBB* *xvii*, 550) *supplūs* hie = eos before ðær — 1081 *Ettm* elreordigra *W* ænig  
 ne to lafe, *Siev* (*PBB* *xvii*, 550) æn(1)ge to lafe, in carcerne, cwic ne gemetton —  
 1082 *MS* cwicne gemette, *not as W* states cwic ne gemette, *Th as MS*, *Th note*,  
*K* cwicne ne metton, *Gm*, *Ettm*, *B* cwicne ne gemetton, *Gn* cwic ne gemetton,  
*Pogatscher* (*Anglia* *xxiii*, 298) cwicne ne gemette, *W* cwic ne gemette — 1083  
*K* ac *Gn* omits þær, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> restores the word *Siev* (*PBB* *x*, 460) -dreorge  
*Gm*, *K*, *Ettm* lægon — 1087 *Th*, *Gm* hyge geomor — 1088 *K* beodgæstes —  
 1089 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *B* behlidenan, *Gm* note, *Ettm*, *Gn*, *W*, *Bright*  
 (*MLN* *ii*, 82) behlidenan — 1090 *Ettm*, *Gn*, *W* *supply* deade before gefeormedon,  
*Siev* (*PBB* *x*, 517) *characterizes* the line thus emended as *metrically imperfect*,  
*Holthausen* (*Anglia* *xiii*, 357) deade dryht gefeormedon *See Notes* — 1093 *Gm*  
 to somne — 1095 *K* wiggum *Ettm* gengan.

on mēarum mōdige, mæðelhēgende,  
 æscum dealle þā wæs eall geador  
 tō þām þingstede þeod gesamnod,  
 lēton him þā betwēonum | taan wisian, [f 44<sup>a</sup>]  
 hwylcne hira ærest oðrum sceolde 1100  
 tō fōddurþege fēores ongyldan,  
 hluton hellcræftum, hæðengildum  
 teledon betwīnum Ðā se tān gehwearf  
 efne ofer ænne ealdgesīða,  
 sē wæs uðweota eorla dugoðe, 1105  
 heriges on ore Hraðe siððan wearð  
 fetorwrāsnum fæst, fēores orwēna  
 Cleopode þā collenferhð cearegan reorde,  
 cwæð hē his sylfes sunu syllan wolde  
 on æhtgeweald, eaforan geongne, 1110  
 lifes tō lisse, hie ðā lāc hraðe  
 þēgon tō þance. þeod wæs oflysted,  
 metes mōdgēomre, næs him tō mādme wynn,  
 hyht tō hordgestrēonum, hungre wæron  
 þearle geþrēatod, swā se ðēodsceaða 1115  
 rēow rīcsode. þā wæs rinc manig,  
 gūðfrec guma, ymb þæs geongan feorh  
 brēostum onbryrded. Tō þām beadulāce  
 wæs þæt wēatācen wīde gefrēge,  
 geond þā burh bodad beorne manegum, 1120  
 þæt hie þæs cnihtes cwealm corðre gesōhton,  
 duguðe ond eogoðe, dæl onfēngon  
 lifes tō leofne. Hie lungre tō þæs,  
 hæðene herigwardas, here samnodan

1096 *Th*, *Gm*, *Ettm* mæðel hegende — 1099 *Gn* omits þa *MS* tā an, the first word on f 44<sup>a</sup>, *Edd* tan, except *W* taan — 1109 *K* suna — 1110 *MS* geone — 1116 *MS*, *Edd* hreow, except *Gn*, *Siev* (*PBB* ix, 257) reow *Gm* ring — 1119 *Ettm*. gefræge — 1123 *Gn* hi — 1124 *K* heargwardas

ceastwarena , cyrm upp āstāh. 1125  
 Ðā se geonga ongann gēomran stefne,  
 gehæfted for herige, hearmlēoð galan,  
 frēonda fēascaeft, friðes wilnian,  
 ne mihte earmscaepen āre findan,  
 freoðe æt þām folce, þe him fēores wolde, 1130  
 ealdres geunnan, hæfdon æglæcan  
 sæcce gesōhte, sceolde sweordes [ecg, [f 44<sup>b</sup>]  
 scerp ond scūrheard, of sceaðan folme,  
 fýrmælum fāg, feorh ācsigan  
 Ðā þæt Andrēa earmlic pūhte, 1135  
 þēodbealo þearlic tō geðolhanne,  
 þæt hē swā unscyldig ealdre sceolde  
 lungre linnan Wæs se lēodhete  
 [þrist ond] þrothheard, þrymman scēocan,  
 mōdige maguþegnas, morðres on luste, 1140  
 woldon ænninga, ellenrōfe,  
 on þām hysebeorðre heafolan gescēnan,  
 gārum āgētan Hine God forstōd,  
 hālig of hēhðo, hæðenum folce,  
 hēt wæpen wera wexe gelicost 1145  
 on þām orlege eall formeltan,  
 þý læs scyldhatan sceððan mihton,  
 egle ondsacan, ecga þryðum  
 Swā wearð ālysed of lēodhete,  
 geong of gyrne Gode ealles þanc, 1150

1125 *MS, Th, Gn, B* ceastre warena, *K* ceasterwarena — 1127 *K* gehafted  
 — 1129 *Th* miht — 1130 *Gn* note freode? *Ettm* note nolde? — 1133 *Gn* scearp  
*Gn Nachtr* fæðme for folme? — 1134 *Gn* fah — 1139 *MS* þrothheard þrym-  
 man with no indication of omission, *B, W* as *MS, Th, Gm, K* indicate the  
 omission of one or more words after þrothheard, *Ettm, Gn* and þreahc after  
 þrothheard, *Gn<sup>2</sup>, Cos (PBB xxx, 15)* bearl and before þrothheard *W* calls atten-  
 tion to 1264<sup>a</sup> *Ettm* þrymmum — 1142 *Gn* note hyse corðre? — 1143 *Gm, K,*  
*Ettm* ageotan — 1147 *Cos (PBB xxx, 15)* supplies him before scyldhatan *MS*  
*Edd* sceaðan, *Siew (PBB x, 517), Cos (PBB xxx, 15)* sceððan.

dryhtna Dryhtne, þæs ðe hē dōm gifeð  
 gumena gehwylcum, þāra þe gēoƿe tō him  
 sēceð mid snytrum, þær bið symle gearu  
 frēod unhwilen, þām þe hīe findan cann

## [XI]

þā wæs wōp hæfen in wera burgum, 1155  
 hlūd henges cyrm, hrēopon friccān,  
 mændon metelēaste, mēðe stōdon,  
 hungre gehæfte Hornsalu wunedon,  
 wēste winræced, welan ne benohton  
 beornas tō brūcāne on þā bitran tid, 1160  
 gesæton searupāncle sundor tō rūne  
 ermðu eahtigan, næs him tō ēðle wygn.

Fregn þā gelōme freca oðerne  
 “ Ne hele sē ðe hæbbe holde lāre,  
 on sefan snyttro ! Nū is sǣl cumen, 1165  
 þrēa ormæte, is nū þearf mycel,  
 þæt wē wīsfæstra wordum hýran ”

[þā for þære dugode dēoful ætýwde, [f 45<sup>a</sup>]  
 wann ond whitelēas, hæfde wēriges hīw.  
 Ongan þā meldigan morpres brytta, 1170  
 hellehnca, pone hālgan wer  
 wiðerhygende, ond þæt word gecwæð  
 “ Hēr is gefered ofer feorne weg  
 æðelunga sum innan ceastre,  
 ellþeodigra, pone ic Andrēas 1175

1151 *Gm* gifeð — 1154 *MS, Th, Gm, K, Etm, Gn, B* freond, *Gn Nachtr, Gn<sup>2</sup>, W* freod *B<sup>2</sup>* hne for hīe *K* eann — 1156 *Gm, Etm* hreopun — 1159 *Gm* (cf also his *Introd p xxxvii*), *Etm, Gn* winræced, *Gn<sup>2</sup>, K, B* winræced — 1160 *Siev (PBB x, 482)* brucan — 1163 *Etm* frægn — 1165 *Th* synttro — 1169 *Etm* witeleas *Edd* wēriges, *Gn Nachtr, Gn<sup>2</sup>* weriges? — 1171 *Th, Gm, K, Gn, B* helle hnca; *Gm note, Etm, Gn<sup>2</sup>, W* hellehnca — 1173 *Gm* 1st *Gm, Gn<sup>2</sup>* gefered — 1175 *Etm* elþeodigra



nemnan hērde , hē ēow nēon gescēod,  
 ðā hē āferede of fæstenne  
 manncynnes mā þonne gemet wære  
 Nū gē magon ēaðe oncyðdæda  
 \*wrecan on gewyrhtum , lætað [wæpnes] spor, 1180  
 iren ecgheard, ealdorgeard sceoran,  
 fægges feorhhord , gāð fromlice,  
 þæt gē wiðerfeohtend wiges gehnægan.”  
 Him þā Andrēas āgef ondsware  
 “Hwæt ! ðū þristlice þeode lærest, 1185  
 bældest tō beadowe. Wæst þē bæles cwealm,  
 hātne in helle, ond þū here fýsest,  
 fēðan tō gefeohte , eart ðū fāg wið God,  
 dugoða dēmend. Hwæt ! ðū dēofles stræl,  
 icest þīne yrnðo , ðē se ælmuhtiga 1190  
 hēanne gehnægde, ond [on] heolstor bescēaf,  
 þær þē cyninga cining clamme belegde,  
 ond þē syððan ā Sātān nemdon,  
 ðā ðe Dryhtnes ā dēman cūðon ”  
 Ðā gýt se wiðermēda wordum lærde 1195  
 folc tō gefeohte, fēondes cræfte .  
 “Nū gē gehýrað hæleða gewinnan,  
 sē ðyssum henge mæst hearma gefremede.  
 Ðæt is Andrēas, sē mē on fiteð  
 wordum wrætlicum for wera menigo.” 1200

1177 *Gm*, *K*, āferede — 1178 *Gn*, manncynnes — 1180 *MS* gwyrrhtum, *Edd* gewyrhtum; *Hollhausen* (*PBB* xvi, 551), *Simons*, s v gewyrhtan *MS* lætað spor, *Th*, *Gm*, *K* indicate an omission before spor but do not attempt to supply it, *Ettm* wigsperere for spor, *Gn* wæpna spor, *B* nu spor, *W* wæpnes spor — 1181 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*, *Gn*, *B*, *W* eadorgeard, *Ettm* eadorgeard, *K*, *Nap* (*Anglia* v, 411) independently ealdorgeard — 1182 *Gm* feorhhord — 1184 *Ettm* ageaf — 1186 *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm* bealdest *K* wast — 1190 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) ælmuhtga — 1191 *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos* (*PBB* xxx, 16) supply on before heolstor, *Gn* *Spr* 1, 93 as *MS* — 1192 *Gm*, *K*, *B* se for þe, *Ettm* þær þe se, *B*<sup>2</sup> as *MS* — 1193 *MS*, *Gm*, *K*, *B* Sata *Gm*, *Ettm*, *K*, *B* nemndon, *B*<sup>2</sup> nemdon — 1194 *K* æ — 1198 *Ettm* þisum — 1199 *Edd* onfiteð, except *Gn*, *W* on fiteð

Ðā wæs bēacen boden burhsittendum ,  
 āhlēopon hildfreme heriges brehtme  
 ond tō weallgeatum wigenð þrunġon,  
 cēne under cumblum, | corðre mycle [f 45<sup>b</sup>]  
 tō ðām orlege, ordum ond bordum 1205  
 þā worde cwæð weoroda Dryhten,  
 Meotud mihtum swið sægde his magoþegne  
 “Scealt ðū, Andrēas, ellen fremman ,  
 ne mið ðū for menigo, ah þinne mōdsefan  
 staðola wið strangum Nis sēo stund latu, 1210  
 þæt þē wælrēowe wītum belecgaþ,  
 cealdan clommum Cȳð þē sylfne,  
 herd hige þinne, heortan staðola,  
 þæt hie mīn on ðē mægen oncnāwan  
 Ne magon hie ond ne mōton ofer mīne ēst 1215  
 þinne lichoman, lehrum scyldige,  
 dēaðe gedælan, ðēah ðū drype þolige,  
 mirce mānslaga. Ic þē mid wunige ”  
 Æfter þām wordum cōm werod unsmæte,  
 lyswe lārsmeoðas, mid lindgecrode, 1220  
 bolgenmōde; bæron ut hræðe  
 ond þām hālgan þær handa gebundon,  
 siþþan geyped wæs æðelunga wynn  
 ond hie andweardne ēagum meahton  
 gesion sigerōfne. þær wæs sec manig 1225  
 on þām welwange wīges oflysted  
 lēoda duguðe, lýt sorgodon,  
 hwylc him þæt edlēan æfter wurde.

1206 *Th.* cwæð — 1212 *Ettm.* cealdum. — 1216 *Ettm.* lichaman. *Gm* note, citing  
 1205<sup>a</sup>, leahtrum *Siev* (*PBB.* x, 459) scyldge. — 1218 *B* myrce *MS.* mānslaga,  
*Gm*, *Ettm.*, *K* manslaga; *Cos.* (*PBB* xx1, 16) mānslagas — 1219 *Ettm.* After —  
 1221 *Ettm.* hræðe; so also 1272<sup>a</sup>, 1577<sup>b</sup>. — 1223 *K* Siððon *Ettm.* geyppeð — 1224  
*Gn.*, *Spr* 1, 6 hi hine andweardne — 1225 *Gn.*, *Ettm.* secg. — 1226 *Gm*, *Gn*, *K*,  
*Ettm.*, *B*, *W* wælwange

Hēton þā lādan ofer landsceare,  
 ðrāgmælum tēon, torngeniðlan, 1230  
 swā hie hit frēcnost findan meahton  
 Drōgon dēormōdne æfter dūnscreafum,  
 ymb stānhleoðo stærcedferhþne,  
 efne swā wīde swā wegas tō lāgon,  
 enta ærgeweorc, innan burgum, 1235  
 stræte stānfāge Storm upp ārās  
 æfter ceasterhofum, cīrm unlytel  
 hǣðnes heriges Wæs þæs hālgan līc  
 sārbennum soden, swāte bestēmed,  
 bānhūs ābrocen, blōd yðum wēoll, 1240  
 hātan |heolfre Hæfde him on innan [f. 46<sup>a</sup>]  
 ellen untwēonde, wæs þæt æðele mōd  
 āsundrad fram synnum, þēah hē sāres swā feala  
 dēopum dolgslegum drēogan sceolde.  
 Swā wæs ealne dæg, oððæt æfen cōm, 1245  
 sigetorht swungen, sār eft gewōd  
 ymb þæs beornes brēost, oðþæt beorht gewāt  
 sunne swegeltorht tō sete glīdan.  
 Læddan þā lēode lāðne gewinnan  
 tō carcerne, hē wæs Crīste swā þēah 1250  
 lēof on mōde, him wæs lēoht sefa  
 hālig heortan nēh, hīge untyddre

1229 *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 16) *supplies* hine before þa — 1230 *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr* *ii*, 550  
 tragemelum, *K* þrægmælum — 1232 *MS*, *Edd* deormode, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 16)  
 deormodne — 1232 *Ettm* dunscreafum — 1233 *MS* stærcedferþne, *Th*, *Gn*,  
*B*, *W* stæricedferþne, *Gm*, *Ettm* stearcedferhðe, *K* stearcedferðe, *Cos* (*PBB*  
*xxi*, 16) stærcedferhþne — 1234 *Th*, *B* tolagon, *K* tolagon — 1236 *Ettm* up  
 — 1241 *MS*, *Edd* hat of heolfre, *except Gn* hatan heolfre, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> as *MS*, *Cos*  
 (*PBB* *xxi*, 16) hat of hreþre *Th* on innan — 1242 *MS*, *Edd* untweodne,  
*except Gn*, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 16) untweonde, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> as *MS* — 1243 *Ettm* feola  
 — 1246 *MS*, *Edd* sigeltorht, *except Ettm*, *Gn*, *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 16) sigetorht  
*Gn* oft — 1252 *Bright* (*MLN* *ii*, 82) *would omit* neh *Gn* untydre, *Gm* *note*  
 untedre

## [XII]

þā se hālga wæs under heolstorscuwan,  
 eorl ellenheard, ondlange niht  
 searþancum beseted Snāw eorðan band 1255  
 wintergeworpum, weder cōledon  
 heardum hægelscūrum, swylce hrim ond forst,  
 hāre hildstapan, hāleða ēðel  
 lucon, lēoda gesetu Land wæron frēorig  
 cealdum cylegicelum, clang wæteres prym 1260  
 ofer ēastrēamas, is brycgade  
 blæce brimrāde Blīðheort wunode  
 eorl unforcūð, elnes gemyndig,  
 þrist ond þrohtheard, in þrēanēdum,  
 wintercealdan niht, nō on gewitte blon, 1265  
 ācol for þy egesan, þæs þe hē ær ongann,  
 þæt hē ā dōmlīcost Dryhten herede,  
 weorðade wordum, oððæt wuldres gim  
 heofontorht onhlād Ðā cōm hāleða þrēat  
 tō ðære dimman dīng, duguð unlytel, 1270  
 wadan wælgīfre weorodes brehtme.  
 Hēton üt hræðe æðeling lædan  
 in wrāðra gewæld, wærfæstne hāleð.  
 Ðā wæs eft |swā ær ondlangne dæg [f. 46<sup>b</sup>]  
 swungen sārslægum, swāt yðum wēoll 1275  
 þurh bāncofan, blōdlīfrum swealg,  
 hātan heolfre, hrā weorces ne sann,  
 wundum wērig þā cwōm wōpes hring

1253 *MS A*, the scribe wrote originally *SA*, then erased the *S*, but did not fill in *þ* — 1257 *Gn* swylc, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> swylce — 1258 *Gm* (*þ xxxv*) hildstapan, *uatores tegmimbus inuoluti*, or hæðstapan? *Gn* note hrð, hæð? — 1262 *K* blace — 1266 *MS*, *Th* acól, *Gm*, *K* acðl, but *Gm* as verb, *K* as adj, *Ettm*, *Gn*. acól, *B* ācol — 1269 *Ettm* heofon torht, heofon accus. — 1270 *Ettm* note dīngige for dīng?

þurh þæs beornes brēost, blāt ūt faran,  
 wēoll waðuman strēam, ond hē worde cwæð 1280  
 “Gesēoh nū, Dryhten God, drohtað mīnne,  
 weoruda willgeofa! Þū wæst ond const  
 ānra gehwylces earfeðsiðas.  
 Ic gelyfe tō ðē, mīn liffruma,  
 þæt ðū mildheort mē for þīnum mægenspēdum, 1285  
 nerigend fira, nāfre wille,  
 ēce ælmihtig, ānforlætan,  
 swā ic þæt gefremme, þenden feorh leofað,  
 mīn on moldan, þæt ic, meotud, þīnum  
 lārum lēofwendum lýt geswice. 1290  
 Þū eart gescyldend wið sceaðan wæpnum,  
 ēce eadfruma, eallum þīnum,  
 ne læt nū bysmrian banan manncynnes,  
 fācnes frumbearn, þurh fēondes cræft  
 leahtrum beleggan þā þīn lof berað.” 1295  
 Ðā ðær ætywde se atola gāst,  
 wrāð wærloga, wīgend lærde  
 for þām heremægene helle dīoful  
 āwerged in wītum, ond þæt word gecwæð  
 “Slēað synnigne ofer seolfes mūð, 1300  
 folces gewinnan, nū tō feala reordap.”  
 Þā wæs orlege eft onhrēred,  
 nīwan stefne, nīð upp ārās,  
 oþðæt sunne gewāt tō sete glīdan  
 under nīflan næs, niht helmade, 1305  
 brūnwann oferbræd beorgas stēape,

1279 *Th*, *B* utfaran — 1282 *K*, *Ettm* wast — 1286 *MS* wēlle, *Nap* w corrected from n — 1291 *MS*, *B* gescylded — 1293 *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm* man- — 1298 *Ettm* deoful. — 1299 *Ettm* on for in — 1300 *Ettm* silfes — 1301 *Ettm* feola *Gn* reorðað, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> reorðað — 1302 *MS* þa, *W* Ða — 1303 *Ettm* up — 1306 *Th*, *Gm*, *K* brun wann *Ettm* oferbrægd

ond se hālga wæs tō hofe lāded,  
 dēor ond dōmgeorn, in þæt dimme ræced,  
 sceal þonne in nēadcofan nihtlangne fyrst  
 wærfæst wunian wic unsýfre 1310  
 Þā cōm seofona sum tō sele geongan,  
 atol æglæca |yfela gemyndig, [f 47<sup>a</sup>]  
 morðres mánfrēa myrce gescýrded,  
 dēoful dēaðrēow duguðum berēafod  
 Ongan þā þām hālgan hospword sprecan 1315  
 “Hwæt hogodest ðū, Andrēas, hidercyme þinne  
 on wrāðra geweald? Hwær is wuldor þin,  
 þe ðū oferhigdum upp ārærdest,  
 þā ðū goda ūssa guld gehnægdest?  
 Hafast nū þe ānum eall getihhad 1320  
 land ond lēode, swā dyde lārēow þin  
 (cyneprym āhōf), þām wæs Crīst nama  
 ofer middangeard, þynden hit meahthe swā,  
 þone Hērōdes ealdre besnyðede,  
 forcōm æt campe cyning Iūdēa, 1325  
 rīces berædde, ond hine rōde befealg,  
 þæt hē on gealgan his gāst onsende  
 Swā ic nū bebēode bearnum mīnum,  
 þegnum þryðfullum, ðæt hie ðē hnægen,  
 gangran æt gūðe. Lætað gāres ord, 1330

1308 *MS* plainly deor, so *Th*, *Nap*, and *Edd* except *W*, *B*, as *MS* and in *text*, deop — 1309 *Gn* sceolde — 1311 *Ettm* gangan — 1313 *Gn*, *Spr* 2, 449 gescryded, *vestatus*? or *gescyrted*? *Trautman* (in *Simons* s v) gescryded = gescynded = gescended *confusus*? — 1315 *Gm*, *K* ongan to þam, *Ettm* ongann to þam — 1316 *Siev* (*PBB* xii, 478) omits Andreas — 1317 *MS*, *Edd* hwæt, *Gn* note hwær? *W* incorrectly refers *Gn*'s note to hwæt, 1316<sup>a</sup>. — 1318 *Ettm* up — 1319 *MS*, *Edd* gūp, *Gn* note guld? *Bugge* (*PBB* xii, 95), *Blount* guld — 1320 *Gn* *Nacht* Hafast þu, not repeated in *Gn*<sup>2</sup> — 1323 *Ettm*, *Gn*, *W* þenden — 1324 *Gn* Erodes — 1329 *Th*, *Gm*, *K* hnægon; *Ettm*, *Gn* hnægan

earh ättre gemæġ, in gedūfan  
 in fæges ferð, gāð fromlice,  
 ðæt gē gūðfrecan gylp forbēgan."

Hie wæron rēowe, ræsdon on sōna  
 gifrum grāpum, hine God forstōd, 1335

staðulfæst stēorend, þurh his strangan miht  
 Syððan hie oncnēowon Crīstes rōde  
 on his mægwlite, mære tacen,  
 wurdon hie ðā ācle on þām onfenge,  
 forhte, afærde, ond on flēam numen. 1340

Ongan eft swā ær ealdgeniðla,  
 helle hæftling, hearmlēoð galan  
 "Hwæt wearð ēow swā rōfum, rincas mīne,  
 lindgesteallan, þæt ēow swā lýt gespēow?"  
 [Him þā] earmsceapen āgef ondsware, 1345

fāh fyrnsceaþa, ond his fæder oncwæð  
 "Ne |magan wē him lungre lāð ætfæstan, [f 47<sup>b</sup>]  
 swilt þurh searwe, gā þē sylfa tō!  
 þær þū gegninga gūðe findest,  
 frēcne feohtan, gif ðū furður dearst 1350  
 tō þām ānhagan aldre genēðan

1331 *K* ættre *Edd*, except *Gn*, *W* ingedufan — 1333 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm*, *Gn*  
 guðfrecan, *Gn* note guðfrecan? — 1337 *MS* rade, *Edd* rode — 1337 ff *Gm* with-  
 out remark, *K*, *Ettm*

Crīstes rode  
 mære tacen, wurdon hie þa acle  
 on þam onfenge, forhte, and on fleam numen

*Gn* mære tacen, on his mægwlite, etc, *B* as *Gm*, except that he supplies afærde  
 after forhte, *B*<sup>2</sup> as *MS* — 1341 *Ettm* ongann *Gn* supplies þa after ongan  
*Th*, *Gm*, *Gn*, *B* eald geniðla, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> ealdgeniðla — 1345 *MS*, *B* hearmsceapen,  
*Edd* earmsceapen, *Siev* (*PBB* x, 517), *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 17) him þa earmsceapen  
*Ettm* him ageaf

## [XIII]

“ Wē ðē magon ēaðe, eorla lēofost,  
 æt þām secgplegan sēlre gelæran,  
 ær ðū gegninga gūðe fremme,  
 wīges wōman, weald hū ðē sǣle 1355  
 æt þām gegnslege Utan gangan eft,  
 þæt wē bysmrigen bendum fæstne,  
 oðwitan him his wræcsið, habbað word gearu  
 wið þām æglæcan eall getrahtod! ”  
 þā hlēoðrade hlūdan stefne, 1360  
 wītum bewæled, ond þæt word gecwæð  
 “ þū þē, Andrēas, aclæccræftum  
 lange feredes Hwæt! ðū lēoda feala  
 forleolce ond forlærdest Nū leng ne miht  
 gewaldan þy weorce, þē synd wītu þæs grim 1365  
 weotud be gewyrhtum þū scealt wērigmōd,  
 hēan, hrōðra lēas, hearm þrōwigan,  
 sǣre swyltcwale. Secgas mīne  
 tō þām gūðplegan gearwe sindon,  
 þā þē æninga ellenweorcum 1370  
 unfyrn faca feorh ætþringan  
 Hwylc is þæs mihtig ofer middangeard,  
 þæt hē þē ālyse of leoðubendum,  
 manna cynnes, ofer mīne ēst? ”

1352 *Ettm* we þe ne? — 1353 *Ettm* secplegan — 1354 *K* geninga — 1355 *Gm*,  
*K*, *Ettm* þu for hu — 1356 *MS*, *W* Utan, *Th*, *Gm*, *Ettm* uton, *K* Utan, *Gn*,  
*B* Utan — 1361 *Ettm* ‘bewealod, bewealwod? aut bewæled (*Gm* bewæled)’ —  
 1362 *MS*, *Th* aclæc cræftum, *Edd* aclæccræftum, except *Gn*, *W* aglæccræftum  
 — 1363 *Ettm* feola — 1364 *W* ‘after leng, which ends a line in the *MS*, a line  
 is left vacant, for no apparent reason’ It should be noted, however, that on other  
 folios, e.g. f. 46<sup>a</sup>, f. 46<sup>b</sup>, f. 47<sup>a</sup>, the same peculiarity occurs, always between the tenth  
 and eleventh lines of the page, counting from the bottom. This wide spacing is evi-  
 dently due to some irregularity in the measure by which the scribe ruled off his pages,  
 and no omission in the text is to be supposed.



Him þā Andrēas āgef ondsware 1375  
 “Hwæt ! mē eaðe ælmihtig God,  
 niða neregend, sē ðē in nīdum iu  
 gefæstnode fyrnum clommum,  
 þær ðū syððan ā, sūsle |gebunden, [f 48<sup>a</sup>]  
 in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne, 1380  
 syððan ðū forhogedes heofoncyniges word  
 þær wæs yfles or, ende næfre  
 þīnes wræces weorðeð. Ðū scealt wīdan feorh  
 ēcan þīne yrmðu, þē bið ā symble  
 of dæge on dæg drohtaþ strengra ” 1385  
 Ðā wearð on flēame, sē ðe ðā fæhðo iu  
 wið God gēara grimme gefremede.  
 Cōm þā on uhtan mid ærdæge  
 hæðenra hlōð hālges nēosan  
 lēoda weorude, hēton lædan üt 1390  
 þrothheardne þegn þriddan siðe,  
 woldon āninga ellenrōfes  
 mōd gemyltan, hit ne mihte swā  
 Ðā wæs nīowinga nið onhrēred,  
 heard ond hetegrum. Wæs se hālga wer 1395  
 sære geswungen, searwum gebunden,  
 dolgbennum þurhdrifen, ðendon dæg lihte.  
 Ongan þā gēomormōd tō Gode cleopian,  
 heard of hæfte, hālgan stefne

1375 *Ettm* ageaf — 1376 *After* eaðe *Gn* supplies gescildeð (*not* gescyldeð as *W* states), *Ettm* note Hwæt me eaðe] *scil* mæg alysan, *Root* (*p* 58) mæg after eaðe, and generian for neregend 1377<sup>a</sup> — 1377 *MS*, *B* in medum, *Edd*, except *B*, in medum, *Bright* (*MLN* 11, 82) nedum — 1380 *Ettm* wræce? *Gn* wræce? — 1381 *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm*, *B* forhogodes, *B*<sup>2</sup> as *MS* *Th*, *Gm*, *Ettm* heofen- — 1383 *K* wīdan — 1386 *K* fæðo, *Ettm* fæhðe — 1387 *Gn* wið — 1394 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm*, *Gn* neowinga. — 1395 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm*, *Gn* hete grim, with the *hemustich* after hete, *K* on for ond, *Gn* Nachtr, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Ssev* (*PBB* x, 517) hetegrum, in the first half-line — 1396 *Simons* (*p* 120) snearum? — 1397 *K*, *Ettm* þenden. — 1398 *Ettm* ongann

wēop wēriġferð, ond þæt word gecwæð 1400  
 “ Næfre ic gefērde mid Frēan willan  
 under heofonhwealfe heardran drohtnoð,  
 þær ic Dryhtnes æ dēman sceolde.  
 Sint mē leoðu tōlocen, lic sære gebrocen,  
 bānhūs blōdfāg, benne weallað, 1405  
 seonodolg swātige. Hwæt ! ðū sigora weard,  
 Dryhten Hælend, on dæges tide  
 mid Iūdēum gēomor wurde,  
 ðā ðū of gealgan, God lifigende,  
 fȳrnweorca Frēa, tō fæder cleopodest, 1410  
 cininga wuldor, ond cwæde ðus  
 ‘ Ic ðē, fæder engla, frignan wille,  
 lifes leohtfruma, hwæt forlætest ðū mē ? ’  
 Ond ic nū þrȳ dagas þolian sceolde  
 wælgrim wītu. Bidde ic, weoroda God, 1415  
 þæt ic |gāst mīnne āġifan mōte, [f 48<sup>b</sup>]  
 sāwla symbelġifa, on þines sylfes hand.  
 Ðū ðæt gehēte þurh þīn hālig word,  
 þā ðū ūs twelfe trymman ongunne,  
 þæt ūs heterōfra hild ne gescēode, 1420  
 nē lices dæl lungre oððēode,  
 nē synu nē bān on swaðe lāgon,  
 nē loc of hēafde tō forlore wurde,  
 ġif wē þīne lāre læstan woldon  
 Nū sint sionwe tōslopen, is mīn swāt ādropen, 1425

1400 *MS* -ferð inserted above the line — 1404 *MS*, *Edd* leoð, *Holthausen* (*PBB* *xvii*, 551) leoðu — 1405 *K*, *B* benna — 1406 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm* seono dolgswatige *Siew* (*PBB* *x*, 459) swatige — 1414 *Ettm* þri — 1420 *Th* gescænde after heterofra? *Th* gesceolde — 1421 *Gm* note oðeode = *evades et, periret*, *Ettm* text oðþeode — 1425 *MS* toslopen and aðropen, *Nap* adropen, the *d* altered fr om ð, but the crossing is plainly visible in the reproduction, *W Nachtr* (*p* 565) as *MS*, *Edd* toslowen and aðrowen, *Gm* note suggests toslopen and aðropen, and *Nachtr* (*p* 172) adropen for aðropen, *Ettm* adds ‘fortasse legendum est toslawen, aðrawen’, *Siew* (*PBB* *x*, 517), *Cos* (*PBB* *xxi*, 18) toslopen, adropen.

licgað æfter lande loccas tōdrifene,  
 fex on foldan. Is mē feorhgedāl  
 lēofre mycle þonne þēos lifcearo ”  
 Him þā stefn oncwæð, stīðhycgendum,  
 wuldorcyninges word hlōðrode 1430  
 “ Ne wēp þone wræcsið, wine lēofesta,  
 nis þē tō frēcne Ic þē friðe healde,  
 mīnre mundbyrde mægene besette  
 Mē is mīht ofer eall, [geond middangeard ]  
 sigorspēd geseald Sōð þæt gecyðeð 1435  
 mænig æt meðle on þām myclan dæge,  
 þæt ðæt geweorðeð, þæt ðēos whitge gesceaft,  
 heofon ond eorðe, hrēosaþ tōgadore,  
 ær āwæged sīe worda ænig,  
 þe ic þurh mīnne mūð meðlan onginne. 1440  
 Gesēoh nū seolfes swæðe, swā þīn swāt āgēt  
 þurh bāngēbrec blōdige stīge,  
 lices lælan Nō þē lāðes mā  
 þurh daroða gedrep gedōn mōtan,  
 þā þe heardra mæst hearma gefremedan.’ 1445  
 þā on lāst beseah lēofic cempa  
 æfter wordcwīdum wuldorcyninges,  
 geseh hē geblōwene bearwas standan  
 blædum gehrodene, swā hē ær his blōd āgēt.  
 Ðā worde cwæð wīgendra hlēo 1450  
 “ Sie ðē ðanc ond lof, þēoda waldend,

1430 *K* wuldor cyninges *Edd*, except *Th*, *W* hlōðrode — 1434 *MS* ofer eall sigor- with no indication of omission, *Th*, *Gm*, *K* indicate the omission of a half-line; *Ettm* supplies so as to read ofer eallne middangeard, *Gn* geond middangeard, *B*, *W* indicate no omission — 1435 *Gm* gecyðeð — 1436 *Ettm* mænig — 1438 *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm* to gadore — 1441 *Ettm* swaðe *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm* ageat — 1443 *MS* hc lælan; *Edd*, hclælan, *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr* 11, 162 hc lælan, lælan *inf* = *hwere*, *Siev* (*PBB* x, 517), *Bright* (*MLN* 11, 82, with alternative læla) lices lælan, lælan *acc sg*, *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 18) læla, *gen pl* — 1446 *Ettm* geseah — 1447 *K* wuldor cyninges — 1448 *Ettm* geseah *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) geblowne — 1449 *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm* ageat

tō widan fēore wuldor on heofonum,  
 ðæs ðū | mē on sāre, sigedryhten mīn, [f 49<sup>a</sup>]  
 ellþeodigne, ān ne forlæte ”  
 Swā se dædfruma Dryhten herede 1455  
 hālgan stefne, oððæt hādor sægl  
 wuldortorht gewāt under waðu scriðan.  
 þā þā folctogan fēorðan siðe,  
 egle ondsacan, æðeling læddon  
 tō þām carcerne, woldon cræfta gehygd, 1460  
 magorædendes mōd oncyrran  
 on þære deorcan niht þā cōm Dryhten God  
 in þæt hlnræced, hæleða wuldor,  
 ond þā wine sýnne wordum grētte  
 ond frōfre gecwæð, fæder manncynnes, 1465  
 lifes lārēow, heht his lichoman  
 hāles brūcan “ Ne scealt ðū in hēnðum ā leng  
 searohæbbendra sār þrōwian ”  
 Ārās þā mægene rōf, sægde Meotude þanc,  
 hāl of hæfte heardra wīta, 1470  
 næs him gewemmed wīte, nē wlōh of hrægle  
 lungre ālysed, nē loc of hēafde,  
 nē bān gebrocen, nē blōdig wund  
 lāðe gelenge, nē lices dæl  
 þurh dolgslege drēore bestēmed ; 1475  
 ac wæs eft swā ær þurh þā æðelan miht  
 lof lædende, ond on his lice trum.

1454 *Ettm* elþeodigne *Edd*, except *Th*, *W* forlete — 1457 *K* omits waðu; *Gn* (note, waðum?) and *Spr* 1, 642 wadu — 1458 *Ettm* feordan, not feorde as *W* states — 1460 *Blount* cræftgan for cræfta — 1462 *K*. omits god — 1464 *Edd*, except *Th*, *W* sinne — 1467 *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm* hendum — 1468 *MS* sas, *Edd* sai — 1472 *MS*, *Th* alyside — 1474 *MS* lic ge lenge ne laðes dæl, *Th*, *Gm*, *Ettm* lic gelenge etc, *K*, *B* licgelenge, *Gm*, *W* lice lenge, *Gm* note, *Gn* (*Spr* 1, 421), *Cos* (*PBB* xxx, 18) lice gelenge

## XIV

Hwæt ! ic hwile nū hāliges lāre,  
 lēoðgiddinga, lof þæs þe worhte,  
 wordum wēnde, wyrd undyrne, 1480  
 ofer mīn gemet Mycel is tō secganne,  
 langsum leornung, þæt hē in life ādrēag,  
 eall æfter orde þæt scell æglæwra  
 mann on moldan þonne ic mē tælige  
 findan on ferðe, þæt fram fruman cunne 1485  
 eall þā earfeðo, þe hē mid elne ādrēah,  
 grimra gūða Hwæðre |gīt sceolon [f 49<sup>b</sup>]  
 lýtlum sticcum lēoðworda dæl  
 furður reccan þæt is fyrensægen,  
 hū hē weorna feala wita geðolode, 1490  
 heardra hilda, in þære hæðenan byrig.  
 Hē be wealle geseah wundrum fæste  
 under sælwāge swēras unlýtle,  
 stapulas standan, storme bedrifene,  
 eald enta geweorc Hē wið ānne þæra, 1495  
 mihtig ond mōdrōf, mæðel gehēde,  
 wis, wundrum glēaw, word stunde āhōf  
 “Gehēr ðū, marmanstān, Meotudes rædum,  
 fore þæs onsýne ealle gesceafte  
 forhte geweorðað, þonne hie fæder gesēoð 1500  
 heofonas ond eorðan herigea mæste  
 on middangeard mancynn sēcan !

1478 *MS* HÆT, *Th* þæt, note hwæt? — 1481 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 482) secgan —  
 1483 *Ettm* sceall *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm* ægleawra — 1487 *K* sceal on, ending the line  
 with sceal — 1489 *Gn*<sup>2</sup>, *B* fyrensægen; other *Edd* fyren sægen — 1490 *Ettm*  
 feola *MS* geðolode — 1492 *MS*, *Th*, *B* fæstne — 1493 *MS*, *Edd* sælwange,  
 except *Gn* sælwage, *Cos* (*PBB* xxxi, 18), *Root* (p 38) as *Gn* *MS* sweras, not as  
*Th*, *W* state, speras, *W* *Nachtr* (p 565) sweras, *Th*, *B* text speras — 1495 *K*  
 ænne — 1496 *MS*, *Th* modrofe *Ettm* meðel — 1497 *Ettm* wordum for wun-  
 drum — 1501 *Ettm* heofones?

Lǣt nū of þinum stapole strēamas weallan,  
 ēa inflēde, nū ðē ælmihtig  
 hāteð, heofona cyning, þæt ðū hrædlice 1505  
 on þis fræte folc forð onsende  
 wæter widryng tō wera cwealme,  
 geofon gēotende Hwæt ! ðū golde eart,  
 sincgife, sýlla, on ðē sylf cyning  
 wrāt, wuldres God, wordum cýðde 1510  
 recene gerýno, ond ryhte æ  
 getācnode on tyn wordum,  
 Meotud mihtum swið, Moyse sealde,  
 swā hit sōðfæste syðþan hēoldon,  
 mōdige magoþegnas, māgas sīne, 1515  
 godfyrhte guman, Iosua ond Tobias  
 Nū ðū miht gecnāwan, þæt þē cyning engla  
 gefrætwode furðor mycle  
 gíofum gēardagum þonne eall gímma cynn.  
 Þurh his hālige hæs þū scealt hræðe cýðan, 1520  
 gif ðū his ondgitan ænige hæbbe.”  
 Næs þā wordlatu wihte þon mære,  
 þæt se stān tōgān, strēam ut | āwēoll, [f 50<sup>a</sup>]  
 flēow ofer foldan, fāmige walcan  
 mid ærdæge eorðan þehton, 1525  
 myclade mereflōd Meoduscerwen wearð  
 æfter symbeldæge, slæpe tobrugdon  
 searuhæbbende. Sund grunde onfēng,  
 dēope gedrēfed, duguð wearð āfyrhted

1504 *Th*, *Gm*, *K* in flede, *Ettm* on flede — 1505 *Ettm* hræðlice — 1507 *Th*,  
*Gm* wid ryncg, *K* widrncg, *Gm* note widryne or widryng — 1508 *MS*, *Th*, *Gm*,  
*W* heofon — 1516 *MS*, *Th* iosau — 1518 *Ettm* furðor — 1520 *Ettm* hræðe —  
 1522 *Th*, *Gm*, *Ettm* word latu — 1526 *MS* meodu scerwen, so *Nap*, *W* *Nachts*  
 (p 565), *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Ettm*, *B* meodu scerpen, *Gm* note, *Gn* meodu scerwen,  
*Gn* note, *W*, *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 19) meoduscerwen — 1527–8 *MS* tobrōgdon,  
 searu, hæbbende, not hæbbende as *W* states, *Th*, *Gm*, *Ettm* searu hæbbende

þurh þæs flōdes fǣr, fǣge swulton, 1530  
 geonge on geofene gūðrǣs fornam  
 þurh sealtne wēg þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,  
 biter bēorþegu, byrlas ne gǣldon,  
 ombehtþegnas, þær wæs ǣlcum genōg  
 fram dæges orde drync sōna gearu 1535  
 Wēox wæteres þrym, weras cwānedon,  
 ealde æsberend, wæs him ūt myne  
 'flēon fealone strēam, woldon fēore beorgan,  
 tō dūnscræfum drohtað sēcan,  
 eorðan ondwist Him þæt engel forstōd, 1540  
 sē ðā burh oferbrægd blācan lige,  
 hātan heaðowælme, hrēoh wæs þær inne  
 bēatende brim, ne mihte beorna hlōð  
 of þām fæstenne flēame spōwan.  
 Wæḡas wēoxon, wadu hlynsodon, 1545  
 flugon fýrgnāstas, flōd yðum wēoll.  
 Ðær wæs yðfynde innan burgum  
 gēomorgidd wrecen, gehðo *mændan*  
 forhtferð manig, fūslēoð *gōlon*  
 Egeslic æled ēagsýne wearð, 1550  
 heardlic heretēam, hlēoðor gryrelíc,  
 þurh lyftgelāc lēges blǣstas  
 weallas ymbwurpon, wǣter mycladon.  
 þær wæs wōp wera wide gehýred,  
 earmlic ylða gedræg þā þær ān ongann, 1555

1532 *MS, Th, Gm, K* scealtes sweg (*K tr salt wave*), *Gm* note sealtas or  
 scealces? *Ettm* note swealtes = *abyssi*, *Gn, B, W* sealtas sweg, *Cos (PBB*  
*xxi, 19)* sealtne — 1533 *K* beorþegn — 1534 *K* ombeht þegnas — 1537 *K, Gn*<sup>2</sup>  
 utmyne — 1539 *Ettm* dunscrefum *K* drohtoð — 1540 *MS, Th, W* eorðan  
 ʒwist, *Gm, Ettm* eorðan and wist, *Ettm* note eorðan onwist, *K, Gn, B* andwist  
 — 1542 *Gm, K, Ettm* -wealme — 1545 *MS, Th, Gm, Ettm, W* wudu — 1547  
*MS* Innan, *Th* as *MS* hinnan, *text* innan — 1548–9 *MS, Edd* wrecen, mænan,  
 galen, *Gm* note mæned, *Ettm* note wrecan, galan *Edd, except K* forht ferð  
*Th, Gm, Ettm* fus leoð — 1551 *K* grynelic — 1553 *Gn* note ymbhwurfon?

fēasceaft hæleð, folc gadorigean,  
 hēan, hygegēomor, hēofende spræc  
 “ Nū gē magon sylfe sōð gecnāwan,  
 þæt wē mid unrihte ellþeodigne  
 on carcerne clommum belegdon, 1560  
 | witebendum, , ūs sēo wyrd scyðeð, [f 50<sup>b</sup>]  
 heard ond hetegrim þæt is [hēr] swā cūð.  
 Is hit mycle sēlre, þæs þe ic sōð talige,  
 þæt wē hine ālysian of leoðobendum,  
 ealle ānmōde (ofost is sēlost), 1565  
 ond ūs þone hālgan helpe biddan,  
 gēoce ond frōfre. Ūs bið gearu sōna  
 sybb æfter sorge, gif wē sēcaþ tō him ”  
 þā þær Andrēa orgete wearð  
 on fyrhðlocan folces gebæro, 1570  
 þær wæs mōðigra [mægen] forbēged,  
 wīgendra þrym Wæter fæðmedon,  
 flēow fīrgendstrēam, flōd wæs on luste,  
 oþþæt brēost oferstāg, brim weallende,  
 eorlum oð exle þā se æðeling hēt 1575  
 strēamfare stillan, stormas restan  
 ymbe stānhleoðu. Stōp ūt hræðe  
 cēne collenferð, carcern āgeaf,  
 glēawmōd, Gode lēof, him [wæs] gearu sōna  
 þurh strēamræce stræt gerȳmed, 1580  
 smeolt wæs se sigewang, symble wæs drȳge  
 folde fram flōde, swā his fōt gestōp

1557 *Th*, *Gm* hyge geomor — 1559 *Ettm* elþeodigne — 1562 *Th*, *Gm*, *K* indicate an omission before þæt, *Gm* note supplies hæleðum, apparently before cūð, *Ettm* here-cūð, *Gn* her swa cūð, *B*, *W* as *MS*, with no mark of omission — 1569 *K*, *Ettm* note ongete — 1571 *Gn* þæt wæs<sup>?</sup> for þær wæs *Th* note, *Edd* except *B*, supply mægen before forbeged — 1573 *Ettm* fīrgenstream, *Gn* fīrgendstream — 1575 *Ettm* eaxle — 1576 *Gm*, *Ettm*, *W* stream fare — 1577 *Edd*, except *W*, ymb — 1578 *Gm*, *K* carcerne, *Gm* note carcern — 1579 *Gn*, *B* supply wæs after him, other *Edd*, after stræt, 1580<sup>b</sup>



Wurdon burgware bliðe on mōde,  
 ferhðgefēonde þā wæs forð cumen  
 gēoc æfter gyrne, geofon swaðrode 1585  
 þurh hāliges hāes, hlyst yst forgeaf,  
 brimrād gebād. þā se beorg tōhlād,  
 eorðscræf egeslic, ond þær in forlēt  
 flōd fæðmian, fealewe wægās,  
 gēotende gegrund grund eall forswealg 1590  
 Nālas hē þær yðe āne bisencte,  
 ach þæs weorodes ēac ðā wyrrestan,  
 faa folcsceaðan, fēowertýne  
 gewiton mid þý wæge in forwyrd sceacan  
 under eorþan grund. þā wearð ācolmōd, 1595  
 forhtferð manig folces on lāste,  
 wēndan hīe [wifa] ond wera cwealmes,  
 þearlra |geþinga ðrāge hnāgran, [f 51<sup>a</sup>]  
 syððan māne faa, morðorscyldige,  
 gūðgelācan under grund hruron. 1600  
 Hīe ðā ānmōde ealle cwædon  
 “Nū is gesýne, ðæt þe sōð Meotud,  
 cyning eallwihta, cræftum wealdeð,  
 sē ðisne ār hider onsende  
 þeodum tō helpe Is nū þearf mycel, 1605  
 þæt wē gumcystum georne hýran.”

1584 *Gm*, *Ettm*, *Gn* ferhð gefeonde *K*, *B* forðcumen — 1585 *MS*, *B*, *W* heofon *Ettm* sweðrode — 1588 *Th* (but not *K* as *W* states), in-forlet — 1592 *K* ah *Gm*, *Gn*, *K*, *Ettm* weoiudes — 1593 *MS* fáa, *Edd*, except *Th*, *W*, fa — 1595 *K* eorðgrund — 1596 *Edd* forht ferð — 1597 *MS* hīe 7 wera, *Th*, *Gm*, *B*, as *MS* with no indication of omission, *K* indicates omission before wera, *Ettm*, *Gn*, *W* wifa after hīe — 1598 After f 50<sup>b</sup> *Th* supposes a folio to have been cut out of the *MS*, and indicates an omission in his text, other *Edd* see no interruption of the narrative *K* þræge — 1599 *MS* fáa, *Edd* fa, except *Ettm* fah, *Th*, *W* faa *Siev* (*PBB* x, 459) -scyldge — 1601 *MS* h'e — 1603 *Ettm* ealwihta — 1604 *Ettm* supplies us, *Gn* este before onsende, *Gn* note hider on sende? See Notes — 1606 *Gn* gym-, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> gum-

## [XV]

þā se hālgā ongann hæleð blissigean,  
 wīgendra præat wordum rētan  
 “ Ne bēoð gē tō forhte, þēh þe fell curen  
 synnigra cynn, swylt þrōwode, 1610  
 wītu be gewyrhtum, ēow is wuldres lēoht  
 torht ontȳned, gif gē teala hycgað ”  
 Sende þā his bēne fore bearn Godes,  
 bæd hālgne helpe gefremman  
 gumena geogoðe, þe on geofene ær 1615  
 þurh flōdes fæðm feorh gesealdon,  
 ðæt þā gāstas, gōde orfeorme,  
 in wīta forwyrd, wuldre bescyrede,  
 in fēonda geweald gefered [*ne*] wurdan.  
 þā ðæt ærende ealwealdan Gode 1620  
 æfter hlēoðorcwidum hālges gāstes  
 wæs on þanc sprecen, ðēoda ræsuan,  
 hēt þā onsunde ealle ārisan,  
 geonge of grēote, þā ær geofon cwealde  
 þā þær ofostlice upp āstōdon 1625  
 manige on meðle, mīne gefrēge,  
 eaforan unweaxne, ðā wæs eall eador  
 leoðolic ond gāstlic, þeah hīe lungre ær  
 þurh flōdes fǣr feorh ālēton,  
 onfēngon fulwihite ond freoðuwære, 1630  
 wuldres wedde wītum āspēdde,  
 |mundbyrd Meotudes þā se mōdīga hēt, [f 51<sup>b</sup>]  
 cyninges cræftiga, circean getimbran,

1611 *K, B* gewyrhtum — 1618 *Gn* note ne in? — 1622 *MS, Th, B* ræsuan  
 — 1625 *Th, K* uppastodon — 1627 *K* geador — 1630 *Gn* freoðo- — 1633  
*Gn* note cræftigan? but *Spr* 2, 168 cræftiga, *K* cræftigra, *Siev* (*PBB* x, 450)  
 cræftga

gerwan Godes tempel,    | ær sio geogoð arās  
þurh fæder fulwiht    ond se flōd onsprang    1635  
þā gesamnodon,    secga þræate,  
wearas geond þā winburg    wīde ond sīde,  
eorlas anmōde,    ond hira idesa mid ,  
cwædon holdlice    hýran woldon,  
onfōn fromlice    fullwihtes bæð    1640  
Dryhtne tō willan,    ond dīofolgild,  
ealde eolhstedas,    ānforlætan  
þā wæs mid þý folce    fulwiht hæfen,  
æðele mid eorlum,    ond æ Godes  
riht aræred,    ræd on lande    1645  
mid þām ceasterwarum,    cirice gehālgod  
þær se ar Godes    āne gesette,  
wīsfæstne wer,    wordes glēawne,  
in þære beorhtan byrig    bīsceop þām lēodum,  
ond gehālgode    fore þām heremægene    1650  
þurh apostolhād,    Plātan nemned,  
þeodum on þearfe,    ond þriste bebēad,  
þæt hie his lāre    læston georne,  
feorhræd fremedon    Sægde his fūsne hige,  
þæt hē þā goldburg    ofgifan wolde,    1655  
secga seledrēam    ond sincgestrēon,  
beorht bēagselu,    ond him brimþisan  
æt sæs faroðe    sēcan wolde  
þæt wæs þām weorode    weorc tō geþoligenne,  
þæt hie se lēodfruma    leng ne wolde    1660  
wihhte gewunian    þā him wuldres God  
on þām sīðfæte    sylfum ætywde,

1635 *Gn*<sup>2</sup> þurh fæder fultum — 1636 *K* gesamnodon — 1642 *Gm* note, *K*  
ealhstedas — 1647 *MS* sio — 1653 *MS* he — 1658 *MS*, *Th* foroðe — 1659  
*MS*, *Edd* weor, except *W* weorce, *Kluge* (*Anglia* iv, 106), *Cos* (*PBB* xxx, 20)  
weorc *Siew* (*PBB* x, 482) would have uninflected infinitive for geþoligenne

ond þæt word gecwæð, weoruda Dryhten

\* \* \*

“folc of firenum? Is him fūs hyge,  
 gāð gēomriende, geohðo mænað 1665  
 weras wif samod, hira wōp becōm,  
 murnende mōd,

\* \* \*

[mē] fore snēowan  
 Ne scealt ðū þæt ēowde ānforlætan  
 on swā niowan gefēan, ah him naman |mīnne [f 52<sup>a</sup>] 1670  
 on ferðlocan fæste getimbre.

Wuna in |ære winbyrig, wīgendra hlēo,  
 salu sinchroden, seofon nihta fyrst,  
 syððan ðū mid mildse mīnre fērest.”  
 þā eft gewāt ððre siðe 1675

mōdig, mægene rōf, Marmedonia  
 ceastre sēcan Crīstenra wēox  
 word ond wiśdōm, syððan wuldres þegn,  
 æpelcyninges ār, ēagum sāwon  
 Lærdē þā þā lēode on gelēafan weg, 1680  
 trymede torhtlice, tūrēadigra  
 wenede tō wuldre weorod unsmæte,  
 tō þām hālgan hām heofona rīces,

1663 *Th* after dryhten at least two lines wanting, *Gm*, *K*, *W* indicate the omission of one or more lines, *Gn* says “*Einige wenige Zeilen, den Anfang der Rede enthaltend, sind hier ausgefallen, etwa des Inhalts ‘Warum willst du die Leute so schnell verlassen, die doch so eben erst bekehrt sind von ihren Sunden’*”, *B* supposes no interruption of the narrative. See Notes — 1664 *MS*, *W* his him — 1666 *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *Gn* him þa for hira — 1667 There is no indication of omission in the *MS*, but *Th*, *Gm*, *K*, *W* leave space for two half-lines after mod, *Gn* supplies as follows

murnende mod, [nu þu on merebate  
 wilt ofer flodas] fore sneowan.

*B* as *MS*, without interruption, *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 20) supplies me before fore. See Notes *K* moð — 1671 *Gm*, *K* ferðlocan — 1681 *Gm* note, *Gn*, *W* tūrēadigra

]æ̅r Fæder ond Sunu    ond frōfre Gæst  
 in þrīnnesse    þrīmme wealdeð    1685  
 in woruld worulda    wuldorgestealda  
 Swylce se hālgā    herigeas þrēade,  
 dēofulgild tōdrāf    ond gedwolan fylde  
 Þæt wæs Sātāne    sār tō geþohenne,  
 mycel mōdes sorg,    þæt hē ðā menigeo geseah    1690  
 hweorfan higeblīðe    fram helltrafum  
 þurh Andrēas    ēste lāre  
 tō fægeran gefēan,    þær nāfre fēondes ne br̅ð,  
 gāstes gramh̅yðiges,    gang on lande  
     þā wāron gefylde    æfter Frēan dōme    1695  
 dagas on rīme,    swā him Dryhten bebēad,  
 þæt hē þā wederburg    wunian sceolde  
 Ongan hine þā f̅ysan    ond tō flōte gyrwan,  
 blissum hrēmīg,    wolde on brimþisan  
 Achale    oðre siðe    1700  
 sylfa gesēcan,    ]æ̅r hē sāwulgedāl,  
 beaducwealm gebād    þæt þām banan ne wearð  
 hleahre behworfen,    ah in helle ceaf  
 sið āsette,    ond syððan nō,  
 fāh, frēonda lēas,    frōfre benohte    1705  
 Ðā ic lædan gefrægn    lēoda weorode  
 lēofne lārēow    tō lides stefnan,  
 mæcgas |mōdgēomre,    þær manegum wæs    [f 52<sup>b</sup>]

1685 *Gm* þrīnnesse — 1689 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 482) would change geþohenne to the uninflected infinitive — 1694 *Siev* (*PBB* x, 460) -hydges — 1699 *B* blyssum, *B*<sup>2</sup> blissum — 1700 *Bright* (*MLN* 11, 82) supplies eft before Achale *MS* áchale, *Th* ác hale, indicating the omission of a word before ac, *Gm* text as *Th*, note wolde achale æðelīngas oðre siðe etc (achale = unsund), *K* Achale, *Gm* Achale, *Gm*<sup>2</sup> as *K* — 1703 *K* hleafre — 1704 *MS* asette 7 syð no, *W* between syð and no, a small hole in the parchment, not large enough to have contained ðan, *Th* indicates omission before ond, *Gm* and sið no, note and sið of geaf (or ne of geaf) no, *K* and sið no (*tr* 'never since'), *Gm*, *B* syððan, *W* as *MS* — 1705 *Gm* feonda corrected (*p* 182) to freonda

hāt æt heortan hyge weallende  
 Hie ðā gebrōhton æt brimes næsse 1710  
 on wægþele wigan unslāwne,  
 stōdon him ðā on ofre æfter rēotan,  
 þendon hie on Ƴðum æðelinga wunn  
 ofer seolhpaðu gesēon mihton,  
 ond þā weorðedon wuldres āgend, 1715  
 cleopodon on corðre, ond cwædon þus  
 “An is ēce God eallra gesceafta !  
 Is his miht ond his æht ofer middangeard  
 brēme gebledsod, ond his blæd ofer eall  
 in heofonþrymme hālgum scīneð, 1720  
 wlitige on wuldre, tō wīdan ealdre,  
 ēce mid englum. Þæt is æðele cyning !”

1713 *Gn* wynn — 1714 *MS* plainly seolh paðu, *Th*, *Edd* seolhwaðu, *Gn* note  
 paðu? *Stev* (*PBB* 1, 492) seolhpaðu, *Cos* (*PBB* xxi, 21) seolhbaðu — 1715 *Edd*,  
 except *B*, *W*, weorðodon — 1716 *Th* cwæðon, *Gm* cwæden, corrected (*p* 182)  
 to cwædon — 1720 *Gn* on for in

## THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

Hwæt ! ic þysne sang    siðgēomor fand  
 on sēocum sefan,    samnode wīde,  
 hū þā æðelingas    ellen cŷðdon,  
 torhte ond tīrēadige    Twelfe wāeron,  
 dædum dōmfæste,    Dryhtne gecorene,                    5  
 lēofe on life    Lof wide sprang,  
 miht ond mærrō,    ofer middangeard,  
 þeodnes þegna,    þrym unlytel  
 Hālgan hēape    hlýt wīsode,  
 þær hie Dryhtnes æ    dēman sceoldon,                    10  
 reccan fore rincum    Sume on Rōmebyrig,  
 frame, fyrðhwate,    feorh ofgēfon  
 þurg Nērōnes    nearwe searwe,  
 Petrus ond Paulus,    is sē apostolhād  
 wīde geweorðod    ofer werþeoda                    15  
       Swylce Andrēas    in Achagia  
 for Ēgīas    aldre genēðde,  
 ne þeodode hē    fore þrymme ðeodcyninges,  
 æniges on eorðan,    ac him ēce gecēas  
 langsumre lif,    lēoht unhwīlen,                    20  
 syþþan hildeheard,    heriges byrhtme,  
 æfter gūðplegan    |gealgan þehte                    [f 53<sup>a</sup>]  
       Hwæt ! wē ēac gehŷrdon    be Iōhanne  
 æglæawe menn    æðelo reccan ,

1 *MS* wæt, with space left vacant for the omitted H — 4 *MS* woron, *Gn* note foron? — 11 *Gn* Rome byrig — 13 *MS*, *Th*, *K*, *Simons* (*p* 104) neawe, *Th* note nearwe? *Gn* nearo searwe — 18 *MS* þeodode<sup>ne</sup>fore — 21 *MS*, *Th*, *K*, *Gn* hilde heard — 24 *K*, *Gn* ægleawe

sē manna wæs,      mīne gefrēge,      25  
 þurh cnēorisse      Crīste lēofast  
 on weres hāde,      syððan wuldres cyning,  
 engla ordfruma,      eorðan sōhte  
 þurh fæmnan hrif,      fæder manncynnes  
 Hē in Effesia      ealle þrāge      30  
 lēode lārde,      þanon lifes weg  
 siðe gesōhte,      swegle drēamas,  
 beorhtne boldwelan      Næs his brōðor læt,  
 siðes sære,      ac ðurh sweordes bite  
 mid Iūdēum      Iācōb sceolde      35  
 fore Hērōde      ealdre gedælan,  
 feorh wið flæsce.      Philipus wæs  
 mid Assēum,      þanon ēce lif  
 þurh rōde cwealm      ricene gesōhte,  
 syððan on galgan      in Gearapolim      40  
 āhangen wæs      hildecorðre  
     Hūru ! wide wearð      wurd undyrne,  
 þæt tō Indēum      aldre gelædde  
 beaducræftig beorn,      Bartholamēus,  
 þone heht Astrias      in Albāno,      45  
 hæðen ond hygeblind,      hēafde benēotan,  
 forþan hē ðā hæðengild      hýran ne wolde,  
 wig weorðian ;      him wæs wuldres drēam,  
 lifwela lēofra      þonne þās lēasan godu  
 Swylce Thōmas ēac      þriste genēðde      50  
 on Indēa      oðre dælas,  
 þær manegum wearð      mōd onlihted,

29 *Gn* mancynnes — 30 *W* Effesia, *Nachtr* Effesia — 32 *K* swegledreamas  
 — 36 *Gn* ealdre, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> ealdre — 37 *Gn* Philippus — 39 *K* rodecwealm — 41 *Th*,  
*K*, *Gn* hilde corðre, *Gn* (*Sþr* 11, 73) hildecorðre — 42 *Th*, *K* wearð, *K*, *Gn*  
 wyrd — 43 *Th*, *K* gelæððe, *Gn* gelædde; *Gn*<sup>2</sup> geneðde, *Nap* gelædde *plainly*  
*altered from* gelæððe — 46 *K* beneosan — 49 *MS* *plainly* þas, so also *Nap*,  
*Th*, *Gn*, *W* þæs, *K*, *Gn*<sup>2</sup> þas — 52 *Nap* 1 of onlihted *corrected from* u



hige onhyrded, þurh his hālig word,  
 syððan collenferð cuninges brōðor  
 āwehte for weorodum, wundorcraefte, 55  
 þurh Dryhtnes miht, þæt hē of dēaðe ārās,  
 geong ond gūðhwæt, ond him wæs Gad nama,  
 ond ðā þāem folce feorg gesealde,  
 sīn æt sæcce, sword|ræs fornam [f 53<sup>b</sup>]  
 þurh hǣðene hand, þær se hālga gecrang, 60  
 wund for weorudum, þonon wuldres lēoht  
 sǣwle gesōhte sigores tō lēane  
 Hwæt ! wē þæt gehyrdon þurg hālige bēc,  
 þæt mid Sigelwarum sōð yppe wearð,  
 dryhtlic dōm Godes, dægēs ōr onwōc, 65  
 lēohtes gelēafan, land wæs gefælsod  
 þurh Māthēus mære lāre,  
 þone hēt Irtācus ðurh yrne hyge,  
 wælreow cyning, wæpnum āswebban.  
 Hýrde wē þæt Iācōb in Ierūsālēm 70  
 fore sācerdum swilt þrōwode,  
 ðurg stenges sweng stiðmōd gecrang,  
 ēadig for æfestum, hafað nū ēce lif  
 mid wuldorcining, wīges tō lēane  
 Næron ðā twēgen tohtan sǣne, 75  
 lindgelāces, land Persēa  
 sōhton siðfrome, Simon ond Thaddēus,  
 beornas beadorōfe, him wearð bām samod  
 ān endedæg, æðele sceoldon  
 ðurh wæpenhete weorc þrōwigan, 80  
 sigelēan sēcan, ond þone sōðan gefēan,  
 drēam æfter dēaðe, þā gedæled wearð  
 lif wið lice, ond þās lǣnan gestrēon,

63 *Gn* þurh — 70 *Gn* hyrdon we? — 77 *In the MS h of Thaddeus is written in above the line*

idle æhtwelan, ealle forhogodan  
 Ðus ðā æðelingas ende gesealdon, 85  
 XII. tilmōdige, tīr unbræcne  
 wēgan on gewitte, wuldres þegnas  
 Nū ic þonne bidde beorn, sē ðe lufige  
 þysses giddes begang, þæt hē gēomrum mē  
 þone hālgan hēap helpe bidde, 90  
 friðes ond fultomes Hū<sup>1</sup> ic frēonda beþearf,  
 liðra on lāde, þonne ic sceal langne hām,  
 eardwīc uncūð, āna *gesēcan*,  
*lætan* mē on laste lic, eorðan dæl,  
 wælrēaf wunigean weormum tō hrōðre. 95  
 | Hēr mæg findan foreþances glēaw, [f. 54<sup>a</sup>]  
 sē ðe hine lysteð lēoðgiddunga,  
 hwā þās fitte fēgde. ƿ þær on ende standeþ,  
 eorlas þæs on eorðan brūcaþ, ne mōton hie āwa ætsomme,  
 woruldwunigende Ʒ sceal gedrēosan, \* 100  
 Ʒ on ēðle, æfter tōhrēosan  
 læne lices frætewa, efne swā ƿ tōglideð.  
 Ðonne Ʒ ond Ʒ cræftes nēosað  
 nihtes nearowe, on him † ligeð,  
 cyninges þeodōm Nū ðū cunnon miht, 105  
 hwā on þām wordum wæs werum oncyðig.

84 *MS*, *Th*, *K* ealne — 85 *MS* Ðvs, so also *Nap*, *Th*, *K*, *W* Ðvs, *Gn* þus — 87 *K* wægon — 90 *MS* halga — 91 *K*, *Gn*, *Siev* nu for hu — 92 *W* omits sceal — 93 *MS*, *Th*, *W* gesece, *Siev* gesecean — 94 *MS*, *Th*, *K*, *Gn*, *W* læt, *Siev* læte — 96–122 For the *MS* readings of this passage, see the literal transcript in the Notes — 96 *Nap*, *Siev*, *Tr* foreþances — 98 *Nap*, *Siev*, *Tr* fegde, standeþ For *Nap*'s *hne-darvson*, see Notes — 99 *Nap*, *Siev*, *Tr*, *W* brucaþ — 100 *Nap*, *Siev*, *Tr* supply the rune — 101 *Nap* tohreoasþ, *Siev*, *Tr* tohreoosan — 102 All read læne — 103 *Nap* does not restore ll 103–104, he reads doubtfully, in 103<sup>a</sup>, swa, followed by faint traces of two runes *Siev*, *Tr* as in text *Nap*, *Tr* with *MS* neotað, *Siev* neosað — 104 *Siev* † ligeð, *Tr* † legeð For *Nap*'s suggestions, see Notes — 105 *Nap*, *Siev*, *Tr* cyninges *MS* cunnon, *Nap*, *Siev*, *Tr* cunnan — 106 *Nap*, *Siev*, *Tr* restore hwa on þam (*Siev* þæm) wor-





## NOTES ON ANDREAS

In the MS the narrative is divided into sections of approximately equal length. There are in all fifteen, or with addition of *Ap* sixteen, sections, varying from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fol in length. Each section begins with a capital letter or a group of capital letters, and ends with a period or a more distinctive and frequent mark of a sectional ending, consisting of a semicolon followed by a hook-shaped symbol. Between the various sections a space is left blank, usually not more than sufficient for a single line. For further description, see *Introd.*, pp. xxxvi ff. In the present edition the divisions of the MS are followed, and are further indicated by bracketed numerals. The earlier editions vary widely in their treatment of these sectional divisions of the MS. Thorpe follows the MS, except that he unites sections three and four. Grimm further reduces the number of sections to seven. Kemble prints his text without division into sections. Grein makes eleven sections, Baskervill thirty. Wulker prints his text as Kemble does, without division into sections. He inserts in the margin, however, the numerals which designate Grein's eleven sections, and indicates the division of the MS in his notes.

1 The poem opens with the conventional epic formula, citing the authority of oral tradition for the story. For similar openings, compare the following

Hwæt! wē Gārdena in gēardagum  
þeodcyniga þrym gefrūnon,  
hū ǽā æþelingas ellen fremedon

*Beow* 1-3

Hwæt! wē feor ond nēah gefrigen habaþ  
ofer middangeard Moyses dōmas  
wræclīco wordriht wera cnēorissum,  
in ūprodor ēadigra gehwām  
æfter bealusīðe bōte lifes,  
lifigendra gehwām langsumne ræd,  
hæleðum secgan gehyre sē ðe wille!

*Ex* 1-7

Gefrægn ic Hebreos ēadige lifgean  
in Hierusalem, goldhord dælan,  
cynungdōm habban, swā him gecynde wæs, etc

*Dan* 1-3

Hæbbe ic gefrugnen þætte is feor heonan  
ēastdælum on æþelast londa  
firum gefræge *Ph* 1-3<sup>a</sup>

Cf. also *Jul* 1, *Mod* 1, *Cross* 1, *Sal* 179, *Ap* 1-4. An interesting occurrence of the formula is that in *Beow* 875, where it introduces an indirect report

of an episodic narrative. The citation of traditional authority is also frequently found in the body of a narrative when a new topic is introduced with *gefrignan*, *Beow* 74, *Chr* 301, *Gen* 2060, *Ex* 98, 388, and elsewhere, with *gehýran*, *Mald* 117, *El* 364, *Ap* 23, 63, 70, and elsewhere. *Hwæt* occurs, with or without the epic formula, in the body of a narrative when a new topic is introduced, it is used with less emphatic sense, also, as a weak interjection, for examples, see Glossary Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik* IV, 448-450, points out that this use of the neuter of the interrogative pronoun as an exclamation is peculiar to Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon. The use persists as late as Elizabethan English, frequently, as in Mod Eng, in introducing interrogative sentences, but also as mild interjection in introducing declarative sentences, cf *Taming of the Shrew* I, ii, 248 'What, this gentleman will outtalk us all', *Richard III* IV, iv, 320 'What, we have many goodly days to see'. Cf 63, note, and for the use of *hwæt* as interjection in prose, see Wulfing, II, 688-692 — on *fyrndagum*. The phrase limits, not *gefrunan*, but the verbal idea implied in l 2<sup>a</sup>. Hall translates 'who lived in the yore days'. The construction is similar to that of *in gēardagum*, *Beow* 1, and cf *Beow* 575<sup>b</sup>-576 *nō ic on niht gefrægn under heofones hwealf heardran feohtan*, *Wid* 16<sup>b</sup>-17 *hē mæst geþāh þāra þe ic ofer foldan gefrægen hæbbe*. See also, among numerous examples, *Beow* 74, 2752-2754.

2. *under tunglum*. The usual formula is *under heofonum*, or *wolcnum*, changed here, Cosijn thinks (*PBB* XXI, 8), chiefly for the sake of the alliteration — *tīrēadige hǣleð*. Cf *Ap* 4, and note.

3. *þeodnes þegnas*. Cf *Beow* 1085 *þeodnes þegne*, *Ap* 8 *þeodnes þegna*, *Beow* 1081 *Finnes þegnas*, and similar uses frequently. The phrase, originally, as in *Beowulf*, used of the followers of a temporal prince, applies here to the followers of the Lord *þegn*, literally 'servant,' has not therefore the color of that word in the Oriental phrase 'servant of the Lord'. The word in Anglo-Saxon verse is a dignified one, and its connotation is epic, heroic. This value it derives from the position of the *þegn* in the Anglo-Saxon social system. 'As the royal power and dignity grew, it came to be looked on as the highest honour to enter into the personal service of the King. Two results followed, service towards the King, a place, that is, in the King's *comitatus*, became the badge and standard of nobility. It marks perhaps a decline from the first idea of the *comitatus* that the old word *Gesith*, "companion," answering exactly to the Latin *comes* used by Tacitus, was supplanted by the name *Thegn*, literally "servant." But when personal service was deemed honourable, the name of servant was no degradation, and the name *Thegn* became equivalent to the older *Eorl*' Freeman, *Growth of the English Constitution*, pp 51-52. For further discussion of the *comitatus*, see Kemble, *Saxons in England* I, 168-183, Mullenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 182-198, 255-280, Andrews, *Old English Manor*, passim, Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No 100), pp 76-103, 146-171, Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp 308-333, 378-400. See also Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp 261-269, for a description of the passages in Anglo-Saxon verse illustrative of the *comitatus*, and to these add the prose story of *Cynewulf* and *Cyneheard*, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 755, cf also Caesar's interesting account of

the *soldurni*, *B G* III, 22 Cf 405-414, note — Grimm places II 3<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>a</sup> within parentheses, thus making the sentence a parenthetic exclamation like *Beow* 18<sup>b</sup> blæd wide sprang See 764<sup>b</sup>, note Cf *Beow* 1528 þæt his dōm alæg

4 **camprædenne**. *Dicht*, 'in dem Kampf erlag ihre Hochkraft nimmer', Kemble, 'their glory failed not, of their warfare' *Gn*, *Spr* I, 155, glosses the form as gen sg, but it seems best to take it as dative, 'in or at the battle' The present is the only occurrence of the word, but cf *wigræden*, *Wald* 22 — **hneotan** The form *hneotan* < *hnuton* < *hnton* is pret pl of the first ablaut class, *eo* being a development of *o*-umlaut of *z*, cf Bright, *MLN* II, 80, and Bulbring, §§ 235 note, 239, and 241 Cf also l 802 geweotan The unumlauted form is found in *Beow* 1327, 2544 þonne hnton feðan Cf *Icel* (*Cleas-Vig*, p 270) *hntu reyrr saman*, 'the weapons clashed together'

5 **gedældon** The verb is best taken as intransitive *Cos* (*PBB* XXI, 8) cites Wulfstan, ed Napier, p 204, l 24 *ðær næfre lōfe ne gedælað* Pogatscher (*Angl* XXIII, 263) considers the subject of **gedældon** as unexpressed after **syððan**, the **hīe** which precedes the verb he regards as the object, cf *An* 1012, *El* 1285

5-6. For the apocryphal legend of the division of the earth among the Apostles, see *Intro*, p lix

6 **hlȳt** Cf Bonnet, p 65 *καὶ ἐμέριζον ἑαυτοῖς τὰς χῶρας, βάλλοντες κλήρους* Cf the election of Matthias, *Acts* I, 24-26, and see *Ap* 9<sup>b</sup> But the casting of lots was a custom familiar to the Anglo-Saxons through their own traditional inheritance Tacitus, *Germania* 10, gives an account of the manner of casting lots among the Teutonic tribes on the continent 'Auspicia sorteseque, ut qui maxime, observant Sortium consuetudo simplex virgam, frugiferae arbori decimam, in surculos amputant, eosque, notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt mox, si publice consulatur, sacerdotes civitatis, sin privatim, ipse paterfamiliae, precatus deos coelumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublato secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur' The twigs with which the divination was performed were called *tānas* in Anglo-Saxon, hence the word *tān* came to mean 'lot,' as it does in *An* 1103 Allusions to casting of lots are not frequent in Anglo-Saxon except in translations, an interesting example, however, is *Beow* 3126, in the description of the partition of the dragon's treasure The practice must have been a common one, as penalties were fixed for it, as well as for other heathen observances, in the *Poenitentiale Ecgberti* IV, 19 (ed Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p 380) 'Gif hwā hlȳtas oððe hwatunga begā, oððe his wæccan æt ænigum wyll hæbbe, oððe æt ænigre oðre gesceafte būton æt Godes cyncean, fæste hē III gēar, þæt ān on hlāfe ond on wætere, ond þā II Wodnesdagum ond Frigedagum on hlāfe ond on wætere, ond þā oðre dagas, brūce his metes būton flæsce ānum' The ecclesiastical attitude towards the practice comes out also in the adjectives *hellcraftigum*, *hæðengildum*, *An* 1102 Wulfstan, ed Napier, p 27, in a catalogue of the wicked in hell, includes *wiccans*, 'wizards,' and *wigleras*, 'those who practice divination' See further Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*, pp 39-40

7. For similar breaking of close syntactical agreement by the hemistich or the end of the line, cf 118, 119-120, 163, 224, 225, 234, 312, 557, *Beow* 758, 813, 2011, 2928, etc

**8 frome folctogan** Cf *Gu* 874 from folctoga (of Guthlac), *Ex* 14 frome folctoga (of Moses), *Beow* 1641, 2476 frome fyrðhwate

**9 rōfe rincas** So *Gen* 286, 1651, *Gen* 2049 rincas wæron rōfe — **ronð ond hand** For other examples of similar riming phrases in Anglo Saxon verse, see Kluge, *PBB* IX, 425-426

**10 on herefelda.** So 18<sup>a</sup>, *El* 126

**11 meotudwange.** The only occurrence of the compound, but cf *meotud-gesceaft*, *meotud-sceaft*, 'fate, decree of fate'

**12-13** The allusion, not contained in the Greek or the *Legend*, is evidently a scholium of the poet's

**15 ūt on þæt igland.** Cf l 28 On these two passages part of my note in *Modern Philology* II, 403, may be quoted 'There is no equivalent for *igland* or *ēaland* in the Greek or the Anglo Saxon prose versions of the legend The corresponding passages are *els τὴν χώραν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων*, Bonnet, p 65, and *ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀστῶν*, Bonnet, p 66, *sē ēadiga Mathēus gehlēat tō Marmadonna þære ceastre*, Bright, *Reader*, p 113, *æghwylc man þe on þære ceastre cōm ælþeodisc*, Bright, p 113 A parallel situation is found in the *Phœnix*, the land in which the Phoenix dwells is twice referred to as an island, *Ællic is þæt igland*, *Ph* 9, *on þām ēalande*, *Ph* 287, the second phrase being an elaboration of *ēadig ēðellond*, *Ph* 279 The corresponding passages in Lactantius, *De ave Phœnice*, are as follows

Est locus in primo felix oriente remotus,  
Qua patet æterni maxima porta poli,  
ll 1, 2

Ast ubi primaeva coepit florere iuventa  
Evolat ad patrias iam reditura domos

ll 115, 116

The word in the above passages is evidently not to be understood in the specific sense of "island," but rather in the literal sense of "water land," "land that is reached by water" To the insular Anglo-Saxon all foreign lands must have been "water lands", perhaps in this poetical sense the word also carried with it the connotation of remoteness, in both the *Phœnix* and the *Andreas* it is used for the Orient Cf also *Sal and Sat*, 1 ff

Hwæt! Ic iglanda eallra hæbbe  
böca onbyrged

The elaboration of this passage makes *iglanda* refer to Lybia, Greece, and India, none of them islands'

**18. gescēode.** That the MS reading, and not *gesceod* (as Grimm and Kemble propose), is right, is determined by the scansion of the half-line Grimm (in his notes) would derive *gesceod* from *gesceadan*, 'sejungere' ('from joy' or 'happiness' to be supplied mentally) Kemble, deriving the form from the same verb, translates 'oft had the hand of the slaughterer hardly decided for him' Paul (*PBB* VI, 94), Sievers (*ibid* X, 506), and the dictionaries (cf *Spr* I, 448, II, 406, B-T 436), all apparently going back to Dietrich (*Haupt's Zs* X, 320), suppose a contract verb *scēon*, *scēode*, 'happen,' 'befall' (*Spr* I, 448 'accidere,' 'contingere,' 'impetire') Grein, *Dicht*, translates accordingly 'grimm erelite sie oft



die Hand der Morder' Grein, according to Wulker, takes the form as optative, and Wulker adds, da ein futuraler begriff in beziehung auf den vorhergehenden satz dann liegt, stimme ich Grein bei', Wulker does not state from what verb he derives the form But Grein neither in the *Sprachschatz* nor in his translation gives any indication that he takes the form as optative, and the syntax of the passage requires only the pret ind, as e.g. l. 1420<sup>b</sup> Trautmann (quoted by Simons, p. 60) evades the grammatical difficulty by emending the text, reading *hand gesceodun* = 'hande schadeten'

The form *gesceode*, in the sense demanded by the context, has, however, been satisfactorily accounted for by Professor Bright (*MLN* XVII, 426) in a discussion of the reduplicating verb *gescēadan*, 'separate,' 'decide,' 'deal out,' *Ex* 504-506 By the side of the regular *iedup* pret of this verb is found a weak pret *gescēode*, *Dan* 620, *scēode*, *Ex* 586, and a weak past part *gescēod*, *Ex* 506 A parallel development is to be observed in the verb *gesceððan*, *gescōd*, *-scēod* (with weak pret *scēðede*, cf. *Gram*, § 392, 4, note 6), *gescēode*, *An* 18, is a new weak preterit formed on the old strong preterit The verb has thus three preterit forms, *gescōd* (*-scēod*), *gesceðede*, and *gescēode* The hypothetical *scēon* is therefore to be set aside and all the examples referred to *scēadan* or *scēððan*

20 *fēondes* Cf. 1294, *Chr* 1395 *fæcnun fēonde*, *Beow* 2128 *fēondes fæð(mum)*, *Gen* 453 *þurh fēondes cræft*, *ibid* 492 *þurh dēofles cræft*, etc Note also *El* 207 *sē ealda fēond*, *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Bright's *Reader*, p. 131, l. 24) *þām ealdan dēofle*, and for the modern uses, see *NED* s.v. *fiend* and *enemy*, and Bradley's remarks, *Making of English*, pp. 197-198

23-25 For this tradition of cannibalism see *Introd*, p. lxvi Cf. Bonnet, p. 65, ll. 7-8 *οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης οὔτε ἄρτον ἤσθιον οὔτε οἶνον ἔπινον, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἐσθίοντες σάρκας ἀνθρώπων καὶ πίνοντες αὐτῶν τὸ αἷμα* Six of the ten MSS read *ἕδωρ*, however, instead of *οἶνον* *Legend*, p. 113, ll. 6-8 *hlāf ne æton, ne wæter ne druncon, ac æton manna lichaman and heora blōd druncon*

Aside from the *Andreas*, no other allusions to the practice of cannibalism are made in the extant literature of the Anglo-Saxon period, and there is no reason to suppose that any native traditions concerning cannibalism were current among the Anglo-Saxons A few early allusions in Continental literature to a belief in the existence of cannibalism among the Finns and other peoples of northeastern Europe are mentioned by Mullenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* II, 49, 354, III, 17-18 See also Andree, *Die Anthropophagie*, pp. 6-15 The nearest approach to cannibalism in Anglo-Saxon literature is in the story of Grendel and his dam in the *Beowulf* These creatures devour the bodies of men and drink their blood They are, however, only half human, being possessed of more than human strength and distinguished by monstrous characteristics both of figure and of mind The story of Grendel has been explained as a survival of early stories of cannibalism, dating back perhaps to the period of the cave dwellers, see Brooke, *History of Early English Literature* I, 118-119, and *English Literature from the Beginning*, p. 66, for the theory that cannibalism was practised by the cave-dwellers, see Andree, *ibid*, pp. 1-6 Perhaps further connection between the race of the giants and cannibalism may be seen in the word *eoten*, 'giant,' *Icelandic*, which has been explained as derived from the root which appears in

*etan*, 'eat,' 'devour' See Mullenhoff, II, 354, Grimm, *Teut Myth* II, 518-520, IV, 1437, Golther, *Handbuch d German Myth*, p 161 It is possible that an Anglo-Saxon might have drawn a parallel between the story of Beowulf's fight with the man-eating Grendel and St Andrew's conflict with the man-eating Mermedonians

23 **ah** Normally **ac**, but also **ah** (eight times) and **ach** (once) in *Andreas*, see Glossary for citations, and *Gram*, § 210, 3

24 **feorrancumenra** So also in *Gen* 1836<sup>a</sup>, *feorrancumenra*, appositive to *ellþeodigra*, 1835<sup>a</sup>, and *Beow* 361, *feorrancumene*, appositive to *Gēata lēode*, 362<sup>b</sup>, cf also *Beow* 1819 Kluge's comment (*PBB* IX, 188) on the passage in *Beowulf*, to the effect that *feorrancumen* as substantive compound = 'stranger' is better stylistically than *feorran cumen*, applies with equal force to the other two passages

25<sup>b</sup> Cf *Beow* 178 *Swylc wæs þēaw hyra* (in a passage referring to the Danes as heathen), *Beow* 1246 *wæs þēaw hyra* (of the followers of Beowulf) Note also l 177<sup>b</sup>, with which cf *Gu* 390 *swā bið geoguðe þēaw*, *Gu* 538 *swā bið fēonda þēaw*, *Whale* 31 *swā bið scinna þēaw, dēofla wīse* Cf 177-179

28 **ēaland** See 15, note — **sōhte**. The verb is singular, as is usual after *þā a þe* preceded by *ænig, ælc, æghwylc, manig*, etc See 380, 1153, and cf *Beow* 1460-1461 *næfre hit æt hilde ne swāc manna ængum þāra þe hit mid mundum bewand*, *Beow* 1405-1407 *magobegna bær þone sēlestan sāwollēasne þāra þe mid Hroðgare hām eahtode* Numerous other instances are cited, Wulfing, I, 416-419, and by Grimm, p 94 Grimm points out that a similar idiom is found in Old Saxon A plural verb is also occasionally used after *þāra þe*, e.g. *El* 967-970 *Ðā wæs lāded mære morgenspel manigum on andan þāra þe dryhtnes æ dyrnan woldon*, *El* 1286-1287 *ānra gehwylc þāra þe gewurdon on wīdan fēore*

31<sup>a</sup> So *El* 119 — 31<sup>b</sup> **hēafodgummas** Sievers (*PBB* I, 503) supposes a plural form *-gumme*, as approximate imitation of the Latin plural, the form *-gumme* being supported by the rime with *-grimme* Cosijn, in emending to the usual plural form, adduces *Gu* 1276<sup>a</sup> *hēafdes gummas*, and Sievers, in a remark appended to Cosijn's note, accepts the emendation, explaining *-gumme* as an unconscious echo of *-grimme* For the metaphor cf *Chr* 1330, *Ex Gn* 44, *Ph* 301 ff, and see 50, note

32. **āgēttōn**. Gm and K, reading *aguton*, derive the form from *āgēotan*, 'to pour out', K translates 'the eye sight the gem of the head gallows mnded poured out with javeln points' Gn, *Spr* I, 22, reads *āgēton*, and derives the form from *āgitan*, 'destruere, exstinguere, subvertere' *Dichtl*, 'grausam zerstorten mit der Geere Spitzen' As weak verb, however, the word is found in this phrase in *Brun* 18 *gārum āgēted* (variant, *forgrunden*), and cf *An* 1143, *Fates of Men* 16 *sumne sceal gār āgētan, sumne gūð ābrēotan* Simons, p 5, also reads *āgēt[t]on*. The quantity of the radical vowel of *āgētan* is discussed by Sievers, *PBB*. X, 313

33-34 Cf *Chr* 1437-8 *Swylce hī mē geblēndon bittre tōsomne unswētne drync*, — a paraphrase of *Matt* XXVII, 34

34 **drȳas** The word is of Celtic origin Holder, *Alt-Celt Sprachschatz*, col 1321, derives it from the intensive prefix *dru-*, + *wid-s*, from the root meaning

'know' The whole compound would mean therefore primarily 'the very wise,' by extension 'priests' The word was probably acquired by the Anglo Saxons from the Irish missionaries in Northumbria, and, as the designation of the priests of a non-Christian religion, it was given an evil signification As we should expect, the word and its compound appear in Anglo-Saxon only in the later Christian literature Cf 6, note, 765-766, note, and see *NED* s v *druid*

35-39. Cf the similar situation in *Dan* 569-574

ond ðec winelēasne on wræc sendeð  
 ond þonne onhweorfeð heortan þine,  
 þæt þū ne gemyndgast æfter mandlēame  
 ne gewittes wāst būtan wildōra þēaw,  
 ac þū lifgende lange þrāge  
 heorta hlǫpum geond holt wunast

36 **heortan on hreðre** Reading *heortan hreðre* (*hreðre* inst sg), Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'der das Bewusstsein der Manner wandte im Busen, die innersten Gedanken' **Heortan** is plainly appositive to **ingepanc** and **gewit**, and the idiom requires a preposition to govern **hreðre**, cf *An* 69<sup>b</sup>, 892-3, *Chr*, 640-641 þām þe deorc gewit hæfdon on hreþre, *heortan stænne* In l 36<sup>1</sup> **on** has evidently fallen out through its similarity in sound to the final syllable of **heortan** — Perhaps 36<sup>b</sup> should be placed within parentheses, see 764<sup>b</sup>, note

38 **heorogrædige**. Appositive to **hīe**, 37<sup>a</sup>, though the epithet seems more appropriate to the Mermedonians than to their victims

39 Cf *El* 612, 698 *mēðe* and *metelēas* The unumlauted form **-leaste** instead of **-lēaste**, here and in 1157, is analogical to adj forms in *-lēas*, cf also **nēadcofan**, 1309

40-41<sup>a</sup> Cf *El* 273<sup>b</sup>-274 *cwōmon* in *þā ceastre corðra mæste*, *El* 1203<sup>b</sup>-1204<sup>a</sup>, *tō þære hālgan byng*, *cuman* in *þā ceastre* With 40<sup>b</sup> cf 287<sup>b</sup>, 973<sup>b</sup>, and 227<sup>b</sup>, of Heaven, *Chr* 1007, *on þone mæran beorg*, of the New Jerusalem

42 **Mermedonia**. For the forms of this name and its identification, see *Introd* p lxvi — **hlōð**. See 992, note

43 **fordēnera gedræg**. The word *gedræg*, *gedreag*, usually 'tumult, outcry,' is also used of the ocean, *ofer dēop gedreag*, *Rid* VII, 10, apparently in the sense of 'wide extent,' and, as here, is used in phrases indicating large numbers, cf *Beow* 756 *sēcan dēofla gedræg*, *Wife's Complaint*, 45 *sinsorgna gedreag* For a third use of the word, see 1555, note — The unumlauted forms of the participle of *dōn*, found only in *Chr* 1207, 1266, and the present passage, are, according to Sievers (*PBB* IX, 299), undoubted survivals from an original Northumbrian text

45<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 1626 *ēodon him þā iōgēanes*, of Beowulf after his return from the fight with Grendel's mother

46<sup>b</sup> Perhaps to be enclosed within parentheses, see 764<sup>b</sup>, note

49 **fōondes cræfte** So 1196, 1294 Cf *Gen* 492 *dēofles cræft*, and, for examples of both phrases, see B-T, p 168 The word 'craft' has not in Anglo-Saxon specifically evil meaning (cf 327, 484, etc)

50 **hellfūse** *Chr* 1123 is the only other occurrence of this word — **segl**. For other forms of the word, see 89<sup>b</sup>, 1246<sup>a</sup>, 1456<sup>b</sup> The word appears also, as

simplex and in compounds, in the form *sigel* (Sievers, *PBB* X, 507) Note the proper name *Sigelwans* = Ethiopians, *Ap* 64, *Ex* 69, etc For the figure of the eye as the sun of the head, cf *Skáldskaparmál*, Cap 69, *SnE* I, 538-539, where the poetic names of the eyes are given as the sun or moon, shields, glass, gems, or jewels, of the brows or eyelashes See 31, note

51 *ābrēoton* The form of the verb is probably due to confusion with the verbs of the reduplicating class, see *Gram*, § 384, 2, and Bright, *MLN* II, 80 See 640, note — *mid billes ecge*. Cf *Beow* 2485 *billes ecgum*, *ibid* 2508 *billes ecg*

51-53 According to the *Πράξεις* (Bonnet, p 66, ll 9-14) Andrew drinks the magic brew which the Mermedonians prepare for him, but his reason is not affected by it and he therefore refuses to eat the hay which they place beside him, but continues praising God as before The version of this incident in the *Legend*, p 113, ll 15-18, is confused ond hīe him sealdon āttor drnčan, and hine sendon on carcerne, and hīe hme hēton læt āttor etan, and hē hit etan nolde, for þon his heorte næs tōlēsēd, nē his mōd onwendēd

52 Cf *Jul* 239 herede æt heorten heofonrices god Professor Hart calls attention to *Cadmon's Hymn* I Nū scylun hergan hefænricæs uard

54 *onmōd*. Cf 1638, and *anræd*, 232, 983 The two words are formed (Sievers, *Zacher's Zs* XXI, 362) in the same manner as *ofermōd*, and mean, primarily, 'having the attention turned in a certain direction or aganst something', then in a good sense, 'eager, resolute, bold,' or with more emphatic value, 'angry, enraged' (cf *Dan* 224, *anmōd*, *Beow* 1576, *anræd*, both appositive to *yrre*) Note also *anmēdla*, *onmēdla*, 'pnde,' *Dan* 748, *Chr* 814, etc, where the word has developed in a pejorative direction *Onmōd*, *anmōd* is to be distinguished from *ānmōd*, cf l 1565, note Cf *Gu* 717, *ēadig ond onmōd*

55<sup>a</sup> Cf 806<sup>a</sup>

56 *hālgan stefne*. The construction weak adj + noun, in the instrumental case, is found frequently throughout Anglo Saxon verse in certain traditional set phrases the form *hālgan stefne* occurs five times in *An*, and cf *beorhtan*, *gēomran*, *hlūdan*, *nīwan stefne*, *sārgan reorde*, *hātan heolfre* (2), *heaðo-wælme*, *blācan līge*, *þridan sīðe*, see Glossary for citations In similar phrases the strong form of the adj is found in *brante cēole*, *corðre mycle* (2), *hēa hornscipe*; *ðore sīðe* (4), *mīne gefrege* In other than instrumental phrases the weak inflection of the adj, in constructions of adj + noun, is found as follows gen sg, *ēcan dryhtnes*, 721, dat sg, *bestēmdon*, 487, *hālgan hēape*, *Ap* 9, *wintercealdan niht*, 1265, and in the prepositional phrases, *tō wīdan fēore* (3 times), *tō wīdan aldre* (2 times); *tō lægeran gefēan*, 1693, and cf 598, *under niflan næs*, 1305, *on swā nīowan gefēan*, 1670 See Lichtenfeld, *Haupt's Zs* XVI (IV), 327 ff, for arguments (not altogether valid) as to chronology drawn from the use of these constructions

57-58 Cf *Jul* 233 *tō carcerne Hyre wæs Cristes lof in ferþlocan fæste biwunden* Note also *An* 1671

59 Cf *Chr* 992 *wēpað wānende wērgum stefnum*

61<sup>b</sup> Cf *Metr* I, 84 *gēomran stemne*

62<sup>a</sup> So 1282, *El* 814, *Ph* 465 — 62<sup>b</sup> Cf *Introd* p xliv

63 **hū**. Introducing exclamatory rhetorical questions, *hū* is not infrequently found, e.g. *Wand* 95 *hū sēo þræg gewāt*, *Chr* 362 *hū wē sind geswencte þurh ūre sylfra gewill*, etc. It occurs also as simple interjection, equivalent to *hwæt*, in *Ap* 91, *Chr* 1459 *Hū þær wæs unefen racu unc gemæne*<sup>1</sup>, and, in conjunction with *eala*, *Hol* 75 *Ēalā Gabrihel hū þū eart glēaw and scearp*. See also *Hol* 84, 100, 104, *Chr* 216, 278, etc. In these instances *ēalā* and *hū* are to be taken together as constituting the interjectional phrase, similar to the phrase *ēalā hwæt*, *Chr* 416, *Sat* 316, *Metr* IV, 25, *Metr* VIII, 55. For the use of *hū* as interjection in the prose, see Wulfing, II, 694.

64 **sēowað**. Gm, noting *Beow* 406, translates 'consuunt'. He remarks, however, that **seoðað** = 'coquunt' might possibly apply to the welding of fetters. K follows Gm's first reading, Gn *Spr* II, 437, B, and W *Nachtrage*, p 208, his second interpretation. But no justification for the meaning *seoðan* = 'seethe, boil' = 'weld, fashion, devise,' as accepted by Gn, W, and B, can be found from the other metaphorical uses of the word in Anglo-Saxon. In *Beow* 190 and 1993 the word is used transitively with *mælceare*, *mōdceare*, respectively, as objects, and it means 'to be troubled about, to brood over'. The participle *soden* appears in *Gu* 1046, 1236 (with inst *sorgwylmum*), 1123 (with inst *sārweylmum*), and in *An* 1239 (with inst *sārbennum*), in all these passages it means 'troubled, afflicted'. On the other hand, the dependence of 64<sup>a</sup> upon *Beow* 406<sup>a</sup>, *searonet sewed*, is evident, in both passages the word means 'weave, knit'. For a similar figure, cf 672<sup>a</sup>, **wrōht webbade**. The MS reading **seoðað** (= *seobað*) might easily arise from the misreading of *w* for *þ*, a similar scribal error probably explains the MS form **wæs** for **þæs** in 145<sup>b</sup>. Cf Icel *skyrta hamri sðð*, 'a shirt sewed with the hammer,' 'hammer-knit' (Cleas-Vig, p 518).

65-66 Cf *El* 267-268 *þeodnes willan, georn on mōde*

66 **ðurh geohða**. 'Now with sorrow'. Cosijn (followed by Simons, p 49) would read *gēahð*, 'foolishness, mockery' (anticipating **ðumban**, 67<sup>b</sup>), a plausible but not a necessary change.

67 See 38<sup>b</sup>-39

70 **sīe**. Here monosyllabic (Siev, *PBB* X, 478), and so regularly in *Andreas*, except 417<sup>a</sup>.

70-71 Cf *El* 773-774 *gif þin willa sīe, wealdend engla, þæt*, etc., 789, *gif hit sīe willa þin*.

72 **sweordum āswebban**. So *Ap* 69<sup>b</sup>, *Beow* 567, 679 — Cf *Beow* 1825-ic *bēo gearo sōna*.

74 **ēðellēasum**. The pronominal object is implied in the adjective.

76-78 Concerning the restoration of Matthew's sight, see 91, note.

78 **æfter billhete**. This is the only recorded occurrence of *billhete*, defined by Grein, *Spr* I, 117, 'odium ope ensium manifestatum', by B-T, 'the hate of swords'. Cf *ecghete*, *cumbolhete*, with meaning similar to that of *billhete*. In the present passage the word may have allusion to the way Matthew's eyes were put out, or it may have been coined merely for the rime (Bright).

81 **tō ānum þē** Cf *Pz* LXXXVI, 6 *on ānum þē*

82. Cf *ful* 221 *ic tō Dryhtne mīn mōd staþelge*

**85 scyldhetum** The only occurrence of this as well as the parallel compound, **nīðhetum**, 834. The value of **hete** in compounds is otherwise that of an abstract noun, 'hate' Gm, p 98, suggests, and Simons, p 119, would read here, **-hatum**, in order to make the form agree with the form **scyldhata**, 1047, 1147, but the compound **nīðhetum** speaks decisively against the change. See 1047, note.

**86 wēnigum wrōhtsmiðum**. Cf **grynsmið**, 917, **lārsmið**, 1220. The existence of such compounds in Anglo Saxon, in which, however, the second element has become generalized in meaning, is an indication of the dignified position of the smith in early Teutonic society. Compare also the conception of Weland as smith, which was not unknown to the Anglo Saxons, as we learn from *Beow* 455, *Deor* 1, and *Wald* 2. Similar compounds in other Teutonic languages are mentioned by Kluge, *PBB* X, 440.

86<sup>b</sup>-87 Cf Bonnet, p 67 *καὶ μὴ παραδώσεις με τῷ θανάτῳ τῷ πικρῷ τούτῳ* *Legend*, p 114 *nē mē ne sele on þone bitterestan dēap*

**88 wuldres tācen**. Grein, *Spr* II, 520, and Simons, p 134, would supply *sancta crux*, 'the sign of the cross,' as completing the meaning, making *wuldres tācen* thus equivalent to the *sigores tācen* of *El* 88 and elsewhere. But cf *Ph* 96 *torht tācen Godes*, appositive to *Godes condelle*, l 91, *Gu* 1266 *oðbæt ēastan cwōm ofer dēop gelād dægredwōma, wedertācen wearm*. Note also Bonnet, p 67 *Ταῦτα δὲ προσευχομένου τοῦ Ματθαίου ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἔλαμψεν φῶς, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς φωνὴ λέγουσα*, and *Legend*, p 114, l 9 *mycel lēoht ond beorht onlēohte þæt carcern, and Drihtnes stefn wæs geworden tō him on þāem lēohte*

**89 hādre**. One expects *hādor* as in 1456. But we may take **hādre** (with Barnouw, p 146) as weak nom., the construction may carry with it a specific or demonstrative value (cf note on *tācen*, l 88), and it is so translated by Grein *Dicht*, Root, and Hall 'like the bright sun' Kemble, however, makes it indefinite, 'like a serene star' One might almost suppose that **hādre**, the adverbial form, is a recollection of the model for this passage

'ðā cwōm lēohta mæst  
hālig of heofonum hādre scinan'

*Gu* 1256-1257

— **segl**. This spelling is supported by 50, **sægl** by 1456. No other example of *ē* for *æ* occurs in the MS, but *æ* for *ē* occurs 582, **-wæge**, 495, **stæfnan**

**91 helpe gefremede**. Nothing is said here to show that Matthew's sight (cf 51, 77) is restored to him, both the Greek and the *Legend*, however, are specific. Bonnet, p 67, *παράσχου οὖν μοι κύριε τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου*, and later, *καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέβλεψεν*, *Legend*, p 114, l 4 *forðife mīnra ēagna lēoht*, and l 12 *Mathēus þa lōciende hē geseah Drihten Crīst*. In the passage corresponding to 143 ff, when the Mermedonians come to Matthew in prison, the Greek and the *Legend* state that he closed his eyes in order that they might not perceive that his sight had been restored. Heinzel, "Ueber den Stil der altgerm. Poesie," *Quellen und Forsch* X, 43, notes this passage as characteristic of Cynewulf's proneness to omit even necessary steps in the progress of a narrative.

92-93 Similar phrasing occurs in ll 1429-1430, and cf *Jul* 282-283 *Hyre stefn oncwæþ wlitig of wolcnum, word hlēoðrade*

94 **maguþegne**. Of the 14 occurrences of this compound in Anglo-Saxon verse, 6 are found in *Beowulf*, 5 in *Andreas*, and the remaining three as follows *Wand* 62, *Men* 82, *Jud* 236. Of the five occurrences in *Andreas* 4 refer, as in the present passage, to the servants of the Lord, in the remaining passage, 1140, the epithet, with epic impartiality, is used of the heathen Mermedonians

95 **under hearmlocan** So *El* 695

99 **ic þē mid wunige** Cf 101, 945, 1218, and *Chr* 478, 488, for similar phrasing

100 Th and K place of **þyssum** in the first half line, but cf 112 — **leoðu-bendum**. The compound occurs five times in *An*, but elsewhere only *Gen* 382

102 **neorxnawang** An ingenious explanation of this difficult word is that offered by Bradley, *Academy* XXXVI, 254 (Oct 19, 1889). He regards it as a contraction of a fuller form, \**nēorohsna wang*, the Gothic equivalent of which would be \**naww rōhsnē-waggs*, 'the field of the palaces of the dead'. With the first element, *naww*, he compares Anglo-Saxon *nēo*, as in *nēobed*, *nēosið*, etc., and with the general conception, *walheal*, 'Valhalla'. A more probable etymology is that of Reinius, *Angla* XIX, 554-556, who derives the first element from a hypothetical Anglo-Saxon form \**ne werksan*, 'not working, not suffering', the whole compound would thus mean 'the plain or field of the idle'

104<sup>a</sup> Cf *Doomsday* 24 *ne noht hyhtlic hām*, *Sat* 138 *ne mōt ic hihtlicran hāmes brūcan*. In both passages, as in *Andreas*, the allusion is to the heavenly home — 104<sup>b</sup> Cf *Chr* 284, 1189 *hālgum meahtum*

105 Cf 1611, *Chr* 1673 *ond wuldres lēoht torht ontýned*, *Sat* 556 *ūs is wuldres lēoht torht ontýned*, *Sat* 593-594 *þær is wuldres blēd torht ontýned*, *Gu* 457-458 *wæs mē swegles lēoht torht ontýned*. Gn and W have only a comma after *ontýned*

106 **tō wīdan fēore** Also 810, 1452, *El* 211, 1321, *Beow* 933. Cf *tō wīdan aldre*, 938, 1721, *wīdan feorh*, 1383, also *El* 760, 800, *Beow* 2014

107 **þrāh** Final *g* appears as *h*, in *Andreas*, in *burh*, *ādrēah*, *gelāh*, *āstāh*, and the present instance, see *Gram*, § 214, 1, and cf 769<sup>b</sup>, note

109 **synnige** I quote from my note, *Mod Phil* II, 404 'Reading *synne* with the MS and editors, Grein, *Spr* II, 518, glosses the word as inst sg (?) of *syn*, "evil," "wickedness", Simons, p 124, glosses the form as a reflexive pronoun, but he gives no further clue as to his interpretation of the passage. The translations treat the word as an adverb. But the improbable inst sg *synne* is clearly to be corrected to the adjective form *synnige* [or *synnigē*], appositive to *wærlogan*, 108<sup>a</sup>, to accord with the usual phrasing as found in 565<sup>b</sup>, 710<sup>a</sup>, 964<sup>b</sup>, cf also 921<sup>c</sup>. The MS has regularly the unsyncopated forms in this word, the form *synne* perhaps looks back to a time when the syncopated forms were still written'

111<sup>a</sup> So 567, *Chr* 1197

113 **tælnet** The only occurrence of the word, *tælnet* occurs once, *Gu* 849

114 **seofon ond twēntig**. The chronology is consistent and follows the sources, cf *Legend*, p 114, l 18 *ac onbīd hēr seofon and twēntig nihta*. The Mermedonians hold a meeting every thirty days (l 157) and at the end of thirty

days Matthew is to be put to death, after twenty seven days, however (**fore þrēo niht**, 185), Andrew is to set out to rescue him from this fate Cf also 148, 930

**115 nihtgerīmes.** The term commonly used by the Anglo-Saxons in reckoning a period of time was *niht*, not *dag*, for examples in *Andreas*, see Glossary, and cf 114, note Tacitus (*Germania* 11) mentions this custom among the Germans of the Continent 'Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant', and he adds 'Sic constituunt, sic condicunt nox ducere diem videtur' Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* VI, 18) records the same custom among the Gauls 'Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt' And he also adds 'dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur' This custom of reckoning the night with the day which followed it also obtained among the Anglo-Saxons, cf Anglo-Saxon *frigeæfen* = Thursday evening, *frigeniht* = the night preceding Friday (see Kluge, *Etymolog Woꝛterbuch*, s v *faster*) Sunday, according to the Wulfstan homilist, should be observed 'from nōntīde þæs sætern-dægæs oð mōnandægæs lihtincge' (Tupper, "Anglo Saxon Dæg Mæl," *Pub of the MLA* X, 134), *nōntīde* being the ninth hour counting from sunrise This custom has left its traces in the Mod Eng phrases 'Hallowe'en,' 'New Year's Eve,' 'Christmas Eve,' etc The custom of reckoning time by nights instead of days survives in the phrases 'fortnight,' 'sennight,' 'Twelfth Night' See further Schrader, *Realexikon der Indogermanschen Altertumskunde*, p 845, and Grimm, *Teut Myth*, p 753

**116.** Cf *Gu* 1110 *sārum geswenced*, *Beow* 975 synnum *geswenced* — All Edd have a comma after *geswenced*, B and K put a comma after *gewyrðod* also, but the other Edd have no punctuation here Gn<sup>2</sup> removes the comma after *geswenced*, adds one after *gewyrðod*, and supplies *wesan* as completing the sense On the omission of *wesan*, cf 1393, note — Cf *Jud* 299 *sigore geweorðod*

**118<sup>a</sup>** Also 225<sup>a</sup>

**120 on riht.** Simons, p 110, forms an adj compound *onriht* = 'wahr, echt,' following Gn, who translates, *Dicht*, 'er ist ein rechter König' But the words, metrically, do not have the stress of an adj compound, cf, besides the other passages in *An*, *Chr* 267 *mōte ārisan ond on ryht cuman*, and *Ex* 586 *rēaf ond randas, heom on niht scēode*

**123<sup>a</sup>** So 1303, *Gen* 1555, 1886, *Beow* 1789, 2594, *El* 1060, 1127 — *nihthelm tōglād.* Also *El* 78, cf 1305 Grimm, *Teut Myth*, 753, noting these passages, says 'to her [1e Night], as a goddess, is ascribed, quite in the spirit of our olden time, a terrible and fearful *helmet*, like a cloak-of-darkness' But the passages hardly justify the specific picture *Helm* is probably used in these compounds in the general sense of 'covering'

**123-128** For other examples of the figure of asyndeton in *Andreas*, see ll 370 ff, 391 ff, 1545 ff

**125 dægredwōma** The two elements of this word occur separately *Dagrēd* (OHG *tagar at, -ot*, Icel *dagrað*, cf Noreen, *Abriss der indogerm Lautlehre*, p 196) was, in the Anglo-Saxon period, a technical term for one of the periods of the day The Anglo-Saxon night was divided into seven parts, the seventh



part coming just before *dægrēd*, *dægrēd* itself being succeeded by *sunman ūþgang* (Tupper, "Anglo-Saxon *Dægmael*," *Pub of MLA* X, 126) It was also the period, as we learn from the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Tupper, p 154), when the husbandman went to the fields '(Arator) Eala lēof, þearle ic deorfe, ic gā ūt on dægrēd (diluculo), þýwende oxon to felda' In later English the word, through a process of popular etymologizing, was supposed to be made up of the elements 'day' and 'red,' 'the red of the break of day,' 'the rosy dawn' (cf *NED* s.v. *day-red*) The second element of the compound, *wōma*, in its other occurrences, both as simplex and in compounds, has the meaning 'tumult,' 'alarm,' at times 'terror', cf 1355, and *Chr* 834, 998, *heofonwōma* (tr Cook, *Christ*, p 259, 'sound from heaven,' 'thunder (?)') The two elements combined seem to mean, therefore, 'the rush or tumult of the dawn', Brooke, p 414, 'the trumpet sound of the dawn' Grimm, *Teut Myth*, 720 ff, gathers together a great number of illustrations showing how wide-spread was the belief that ascribed noise or clang to the rising and setting of the sun, and explains the belief by supposing the existence in the popular mind of 'a deep affinity between the notions of light and sound, of colors and tones' Wotan himself, he points out (p 745), is called Wuomo, Wōma, and in this name and such words as *dægrēdwōma*, he sees the survivals of an original nature-myth, according to which the dawn was an actual living person

125<sup>b</sup>-133<sup>b</sup> The Edd vary widely in the punctuation of these lines After **samnade**, 125<sup>b</sup>, W has a colon, all other Edd a comma, after **hildfrecan**, 126<sup>a</sup>, K and B have a comma, the other Edd no punctuation Gn, B, and Cos (*PBB* XXI, 8), enclose l 127 within parentheses, thus making **hrysedon**, 127<sup>b</sup>, intransitive, and uniting **bolgenmōde**, 128<sup>a</sup>, to **hildfrecan**, 126<sup>a</sup> After **bordhrēoðan**, 128<sup>b</sup>, Gm has no punctuation, all other Edd a period or colon, after **wunedon**, 131<sup>b</sup>, Gm and K a semicolon, all other Edd a comma, after **beræðan**, 133<sup>b</sup>, Gm and K a question-mark, all other Edd a period **Woldon cunnian**, 129<sup>a</sup>, has two objects, (1) the clause **hwæðer . . . wunedon**, and (2) **hwylcne . . . beræðan**

127 **gāras hrysedon**. Kemble, 'they brandished their javelins' But the passage here is an evident reminiscence from *Beowulf*, the only other occurrence of the word *hrysan* in the heroic poetry *syrcan hrysedon, gūðgewædo*, *Beow* 226-227 Translate as intransitive, 'rattle', Grein, *Dicht*, 'die Kampfspeere rauschten' Cf *Beow* 327 *byrman hringdon*

128<sup>b</sup> So also *Beow* 2203

130 Cf 1378, 1560; *Chr.* 734-735 *þær hē gēn lgeð in carcerne clomnum gefæstnad*

133<sup>a</sup>. Also *El* 1034, 1268, *Ph* 223 The period was thirty days (cf 114, note) — 133<sup>b</sup> Cf *El* 498 *fēore beræðdon*

135 Cf Bonnet, p 68 *καὶ προσέθεναν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῆ δεξιᾷ τάβλαν, ἵνα γινώσκῃ τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν* Note also 149, 157 These details are omitted in the *Legend*

136. **hwænne**. Also 400, cf *Gram*, § 65, and note 2

138 **caldheorte** The only occurrence of the epithet in Anglo-Saxon — **corðor ððrum getang**. For other examples of this stylistic device of using *ððer*

instead of repeating the noun, cf 43, *El* 233, *Fæd* 6, *Beow* 653, 870, 2484, 2985 See 360<sup>a</sup>, note

139 After *ræsboran* Gm and W have no mark of punctuation, the other Edd a semicolon — Cf *Ch* 706 *sōþes ne gremdon*

140 *hira mōd*. Cf 454 *ūre mōd = 'we'*, 1242 *þæt æðele mōd = 'he'* Other examples are *El* 597, *Jul* 26, 209, *Gu* 711

141 *dēofles lārum* 'Through or by the instruction, counsel of the devil' The phrase is a common one with *Wulfstan* *judeisc folc þurh dēofles lāre hine forrædde* (ed Napier, p 17, l 19), *eal mancyn wæs þurh dēofles lāre ær þām beswicen* (p 22, l 1)

142 *eaueðum* The late writing *u* for *f* occurs only in this word in the MS of *Andreas*, but the use is sporadic throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, cf *Gram*, § 194

143 *glāwne*. This spelling is supported by *gelāh*, 1074

145 *þæs*. Lohmann (*Anglia* III, 126), accepting the emendation *hwæs* for the MS *wæs*, cites *hwæs* in this passage as the sole example of the interrogative used as relative pronoun Zupitza (*Anglia* III, 369), retaining *hwæs*, regards the form as interrogative, and the clause which it introduces as a dependent question, not a relative clause But the right reading here is undoubtedly *þæs*, the first letter of which was miswritten *w*, cf 64, note

146<sup>a</sup> So *Sat* 21, 239, 659, *Hy* V, 6, *Ap* 28

147 *frumrædenne*. The only occurrence of the word *Dicht*, 'die Frist der Vorbestimmung', K, 'Then was the space expired of the predestined time', Root, 'Then was accomplished The appointed time, the season fore ordained'

148 *þinggemearces* Cf 157, note

149 Cf 135, note

150. Cf *Beow* 1567 *bānhringas bræc*

151. Cf 1472, *Beow* 1630 *lungre ælʒsed*, of the armor of Beowulf

152 *duguðe ond geogoðe*. Also 1122, and *Beow* 160, 621, 1674 The two occurrences of the phrase in *Andreas* are in passages of similar context, and both refer to the Mermedonians The phrase is, however, a dignified, heroic one, and means the body of warriors, young and old, see Mullenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 263-264 As it is used in *Andreas* it perhaps has weakened and become generalized into the sense merely of 'every one,' 'one and all'

154. Cf *Beow* 1568 *fægne flæschoman*.

154<sup>b</sup>-156 Cf the similar phrasing 1227<sup>b</sup>-1228

157-158<sup>a</sup> 'After every thirty days', cf *Mald* 271 *æfre embe stunde*, *Chron* 1137 *æure um wile*, 'every little while', *Metr* XXVIII, 28-30

ððer steorra cymeð efne swā same  
on þone ilcan stede eft ymb ðring  
gæargerimes

157. *þing gehēdon* Cf 930, *Beow* 425-426 *āna gehēgan ðing wið þyrse*, *Ex Gn* 18-19 *þing sceal gehēgan frōd wiþ frōdne* Note also *mæðel gehēgan*, 1049, 1496, and *seonad̄ gehēgan*, *Ph*, 493 The phrase is a conventional term in Anglo-Saxon for holding a parliament or meeting, but it is found only in the verse and is not

used in the prose of the meetings of the *witan*. But the same phrase was, and is still, used in Iceland of the meeting of deliberative or legislative bodies, cf Cleas - Vig, p 260, *heyja þing*, 'to hold a parliament'. The word *þing*, according to Mayhew, *Academy* XXXVI, 138 (Aug 31, 1889), is cognate with Gothic *þeirs*, 'time,' the form *þing* being derived by grammatical change, and means 'a meeting held at an appointed time'. This derivation is also given by Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and their Ways*, p 236. 'The word is thought to be cognate with Latin *tempus*, "the (fitting) time," "the right moment"'. If so, we may feel confident that the oldest sense at which we can arrive in English is "that which is agreed upon as fitting". The word *þinggemearces*, which occurs only twice, *An* 148 and *El* 3, certainly refers to time, and thus bears out the above derivation. This etymology has been questioned, however, by F A Wood, *MLN* XIX, 1. In discussing the base *\*te(n)ga*, which appears in the meaning 'stretch,' 'lengthen,' 'grow,' 'become strong,' and (what seems to be the opposite meaning) 'draw together,' 'contract,' 'make compact,' he says 'Here belong OE *þing*, OHG *dung*, pre-Germ *tenqó-m*, "a drawing together," "contract," "compact," etc. The meaning "draw together" is apparent in OE *þingian*, "settle," "reconcile," "arrange," "intercede," "plead"'. But Professor Wood's semasiological grouping is not convincing.

158. Gm has only a comma after *nūhtgerimes*, all other Edd a colon or semicolon — *nēoð*. The sense here is 'desire,' as in *Ph* 189-191

'bið him nēoð mucel  
þæt hē þā yldu ofestum mōte  
þurh gewittes wylm wendan to life'

B-T, p 714, quotes the same phrase in OS 'was im nud mikil that sie selbon Krnst gisehan mostin,' 'they desired eagerly to see Christ'. Cf 1166<sup>b</sup>, note

164 *oft his lufan ādrēg*. The MS *of*, 'for the sake of' (as given by the translators), has not the support of other examples, cf 431<sup>a</sup>. The emendation is supported by *Gu* 63 *sē næfre þā lēan ālegeð þām þe his lufan ādrēogeð*. *Ādrēogan* is always used transitively in *Andreas*. For other examples of the verb in an active sense, cf *Gu* 86<sup>b</sup> *gewin drugon*, *Sat* 254<sup>b</sup>-255 *þis is idel gylp þæt wē ær drugon ealle hwīle*, Wulfstan (ed Napier, p 28, ll 1-3) *þæt [heofona rīce] ēow is gegearwod tō ēcan edlēane ēowres geswincs, þe gē for mīnum lufan ær on worulde ādrugan*. For a similar differentiation in meaning, cf *ræfnan* = 'to do, perform,' and 'to endure, suffer'. Cf 1380, note

165-167 See *Introd*, p lviii

166 *galdorcraeftum*. The first element of the compound means literally 'sound,' 'song,' then 'incantation,' 'magic incantation', cf *Beow* 3052 *galdre bewunden*, 'protected by a spell,' of the treasure-hoard of the dragon. The word appears here to be generalized to the meaning merely of things evil or wicked, cf 6, note, 34, note, 765-766, note

167. So *Gu* 875 — *sīo*. Hall, p 67 'The article in line 167 is treated as definite by Grein, but we have always felt that it had the indefinite value'. Lichtenfeld, *Haupt's Zs* XVI (IV), 349, notices this passage but gives no further examples of the definite form with indefinite value. It seems best, however, to take *sīo* as Sievers does (*PBB* XII, 192), not as indefinite, or as referring to the voice of the Lord, but to the voice of Andrew 'then from the heavens

[1 e in heaven by the Lord] his voice was heard, where the saintly man Andrew, in Achaia, was' Cf 1074 *him sēo wēn gelāh*, 'his hope deceived him'

170 Cf *Ap* 31, *Dom* 47 *lēode lāran*

171 **cirebaldum** The only occurrence of the word The emendation **cynebaldum** is based on the emended reading *cynebalde* for the MS *cynnigbalde*, *Beow* 1634, *cyne-* or *cynnigbalde* occurs only in this passage But of the compounds *cynērōf*, *cynegōd* *Spr* I, 180, glosses *cyrebeald* = 'strenuus arbitri', B-T, 'bold in decision', Sweet, *Dict*, does not give the form **cirebald** *Dicht* translates 'gegen den Kuhnen da', K, contrary to his text, 'to him royally bold', Root, 'to him, that steadfast saint', Hall, 'to him bold in decision'

174 **ferð lādan** Cf 282, 430, and 337, note Cf also 216

177 Cf 25<sup>b</sup>, note

179<sup>b</sup> Cf 1130<sup>b</sup>, and *Jul* 191-192 *gēn ic fēores þē unnan wille*

180-181<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 6-7 *syþþan ærest wearþ fēasceaft funden*

184<sup>b</sup>. So also 1038, 1357, *Jul* 535, 625

185 **fore** Cf Bonnet, p 68 *ἔτι γὰρ τρεῖς ἡμέραι* Note also 114 The *Legend*, p 114, ll 9-10, reads 'and *ālæd þanon Mathēum þinne brōþor of þæm carcerne*, for þon þe nū gīt þrȳ dagas tō lāfe syndon, þæt hīe,' etc The probable word in the hypothetical Latin original which **fore** translates is *adhuc* It seems best to take it here as an adverb, not as Grein, *Spr* I, 321, does, as a temporal preposition governing **nūht** The suggestion **ofer**, of Cosijn and Simons, does not suit the context, **ofer** means 'past,' 'gone by,' but twenty-seven days have gone by, not three, according to the narrative

187 **gāst onsendan** See 1326-1327, and note

190 **ofer dēop gelād**. So *Chr* 856, *Gu* 1266

193 **swā ðū worde becwist** Cf 210, 304, 418

194-195 The Edd put no punctuation after **gefēran**, but a comma or an exclamation point after **heofenum**, except Kemble, who punctuates as in the text Since **con** must go metrically in the first half-line, no punctuation after **heofenum** is permissible

194 **ēað**. Here, as in 368<sup>a</sup>, evidently comparative The form **ēað**, as positive of the adv, recorded in *Spr* I, 253, and B-T, 236, is derived from the above-mentioned passages and *Gen* 2058 and *Gu* 528 But *Gen* 2058 demands metrically *ēaðe*, and also the positive degree, *ēað* for *Gu* 528 rests upon a false MS reading, the MS having *ēaðe* (cf *Bibl* III, 71) The only authentic passages for **ēað** are consequently these two in *Andreas*, both of which are comparative

195<sup>b</sup> Cf *Jul* 112, *Meir* XI, 30 *heofon ond eorðan ond (eall) holma begong*

197 **waroðfaruða**. For similar riming compounds, e.g. *wordhord*, *earðgeard*, etc, see Kluge, *PBB* IX, 423 See 236, note

198. **wēgas ofer widland**. Cf my note, *Mod Phil* II, 405 'All the editors read *wid land* with the MS, Grein, however (*Germ* X, 423), changes to *widland* The whole phrase as understood by the editors and translators is out of keeping with the rest of the passage Grein, *Dicht*, translates "die Wege uber weite Lande", Kemble, "ways over wide land", Root, "the tracks across the boundless land", Hall, "the ways o'er the wide-lands" But the word is appositive to and amplifies the *sāstrēamas*, *waroðfaruða gewinn*, and *waterbrōgan* of the preceding

lines, and can hardly mean "roadways on the dry land" It will be noticed also that in the succeeding lines, though the word *herestræta* occurs, it is limited by the phrase *ofer cald wæter*, the whole passage is consequently descriptive of journeyings by water

The right understanding of the passage is dependent on the meaning of *wīdland* As a compound this word is of frequent occurrence and means (1) "dry land, terra firma," as distinguished from the ocean (cf *Gen* 1538 *wæter ofer wīdland*, and *Gen* 155-156 *nāeron Metode þā gýt wīdland ne wēgas nytte*), (2) "world, earth," in general (cf *Chr* 605 *welan ofer wīdland*, "prosperity upon earth") The second is the sense in which the word is used in the present passage Again, *wēgas*, appositive to *sāstrēamas*, is the same word as *wēgas* in *Gen* 156, nom pl of *wæg*, "fluctus, unda, mare" The usual spelling of the word in the *Andreas* is *wæg*, as e.g. *wāges*, 632, *wāgas*, 373, etc., but the spelling *wēg* is found in the gen pl *wēga*, 932 Read also *wēges weard*, *An* 601, "ward of the wave," not *weges weard* (*Spr* II, 655, Hall), "ward of the way" — Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 9) would read *veras* for *wīnas*, and remarks 'Hatte Andreas sagen wollen, dass er dort keine "freunde" hatte, so ware þær vor *wīnas* unerlässlich' But all the passage means to say is 'These stranger earls are not my familiar friends', Root, 'These foreign men are not my trusty friends'

200 *herestræta*. Originally meaning, from the main purpose of roads, 'a highway or paved road along which an army could pass,' this word became generalized in the sense 'highway,' 'road' The extent of this generalization may be seen from the fact that the word may even be applied to 'water-way' For a similar development, cf *here*, *herpað*

201 *ofer cald wæter*. So *Chr* 851, *Mald* 91, cf 222, 253

204 So 211, *El* 219-220, cf *Ap* 34 *sīðes sǣne*

206 *on foldwege*. 'On earth', cf *Chr* 1528-1529

ondweard ne mæg  
on þissum foldwege fēond gebīdan

Cf 468, note, 501, note, for other examples of compounds in which the second element has lost its meaning

208 *under swegles gang*. 'Beneath the circuit of the heavens,' 'on earth' Cf 455, 869 Cook, *Christ*, p 179, notes *gyrus caeli*, *Eccles* XXIV, 8, *meatus caeli*, Virgil, *Aen* VI, 849, and *uias caeli*, *Georg* II, 477 Cf *Beow* 860, 1773, under *swegles begong*

210<sup>b</sup> So 1715, *Chr* 1197, *Jul* 223

211-214 The Lord admonishes Andrew in such terms as a Saxon leader might use in addressing his followers Cf 89-99, and *Wand* 65-69

Wita sceal gepyldig,  
ne sceal nō tō hātheort nē tō hrādwyrd,  
nē tō wāc wiga nē tō wanhȳdig,  
nē tō forht nē tō fægen nē tō feohgīfre,  
nē nǣfre gielpes tō georn, ær hē gearu cunne

215 Grimm has a comma after *wyrðan*, all other Edd a semicolon or period.

217<sup>a</sup> Cf 951, *Jul* 215 of *gramra gripe*

221 **æt meres ende** Cf *Ex* 128 *landes æt ende*, *Beow* 224 *eoletes æt ende*, *Whale* 15 *sundes æt ende* Note also *Jud* 272 *bā was hyra tīres æt ende*, discussed by Shipley, p 122

232<sup>a</sup> So *El* 244, cf 513 The word *bæðweg* occurs also in *Ea* 290 Cf *fisce* *bæð*, 293, *ganotes bæð*, *Beow* 1861, and Kipling, 'The Rowers'

They had no heart for the rally and roar,  
That makes the whale bath smoke —

224 **mīne**. For similar word order, cf 479<sup>b</sup>

225-229 An evident reminiscence of the homiletic style See *Intro*d, p 1vu, and cf 1686, note, *Ap* 107-122, note

226 **ūpengla fruma**. Cf *Men* 210 *ūpengla weard*

227<sup>b</sup> So *Chr* 647, cf 978

228-229 Cf *Chr* 1686-1687 *þider sōðfæstra sāwla mōtun cuman æfter cwealme*, *Gu* 762-763 *Swā sōðfæstra sāwla mōtun in ēcne geard ūp gestigan*, *Gu* 1066 and *Ph* 645 *æfter lices hryre*

230<sup>b</sup> Cf *Beow* 1312 *æðele campe*, of Beowulf

230-244<sup>a</sup> This passage is translated into English blank verse by Brother Azarias, *Development of Old English Thought*, p 137

233<sup>a</sup> So *Gu* 926 — 233<sup>b</sup> **hildlata** Not a weak adj but a noun The only other occurrence of the word is *Beow* 2846

234 **gearo, gūðe fram, tō Godes campe**. Translate 'Ready, valiant in battle, for God's combat' M, B, W, and K in his translation, put a comma after **gūðe**, W remarking that as **fram** is an adj and does not modify **gūðe**, it should be separated from it by punctuation To this Cos (*PBB* XXI, 9) responds that W's punctuation does not sufficiently take into account the caesura of the line He therefore holds **gearo** and **tō godes campe** together, **gūðe fram** (= **hildfram** = **nalas hildlata**) being regarded as a second phrase Although close syntactical concord is frequently broken by the caesura (see the examples cited under 7, note), in a verse of this type,  $\times \times \mid \_ \times \_$ , **gūðe fram** should have the value of a compound Moreover (as Professor Fred Tupper, Jr, points out) the usual idioms are **gearo tō**, as in 1369, *El* 23 *gearwe tō gūðe*, etc, and **fram**, followed or preceded by its dependent noun without preposition, as in *Rid* LXIII, 2 *forðsiðes fram*, *Rid* LXXIII, 27 *fēringe fram*

235 ff Brooke, p 170, says of this passage 'Andrew, now steadfast, sets forth with the rising of the day, and the description of his path to the sea has often recalled to me the approach to the seashore, over the dunes of sand near Bamberough' He adds, p 415 'The very verse has the dash and salt of the waves in it, and the scenery is Northumbrian No one can mistake it for that of an East Anglian or a Wessex shore'

235 **on uhtan mid ærdæge**. So 1388, *Beow* 126, *El* 105

236 **waruðe**. The appropriate word here is undoubtedly *waroð*, 'shore,' and not *faroð*, 'sea' This reading is supported by 238<sup>a</sup> On the confusion of *faroð* and *waroð* in Anglo-Saxon poetical texts, see my note, *Mod Phil* II, 405-406

237<sup>a</sup>. So *El* 267, cf *Jul*. 358 *þrīste geþoncge*, *El* 1285 *þrīstra geþonca*

**238 gangan.** Construe as infinitive after *gewāt*, not as Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 9), noting *Beow* 1009 *þæt tō healle gang Healfdenes sunu*, suggests, preterit plural in *-an*, or as dependent on *gewitun* understood L 237<sup>b</sup> has syntactically the value only of a parenthetical or a prepositional phrase, and it is good idiom, in Modern English as well as Anglo-Saxon (see Sweet, *New English Grammar* II, 82–83), to make the verb agree only with the first subject when an additional subject is added as a tag, cf *Beow* 2341–2343 *Sceolde lāndaga æþeling ærgōd ende gebīdan and se wurm somod* (note also *Beow* 431), *El* 94–95 *þā þæt leoht gewāt, ūp sīðode, ond se ār somed, on clænra gemang, Wulfstan, ed Napier, p 9, ll 1–4 ac sōna swā dēofol ongeat þæt mann tō ðām gescapen wæs, þæt hē scolde and his cynn gefyllan on heofonum þæt se dēofol forworhte ðurh his ofermodignesne, þā wæs him þæt on myclan andan, Chronicle, ed Earle and Plummer, I, 141 Hēr on þissum gēar sende se cyng ond his witan tō ðām here, ibid, p 143 forðan ðær wæs inne se cyning Æþelred ond purkil mid him — grēote.* A favorite word in *Andreas* (7 times), occurring only once (*El* 835) in all *Cynewulf*

**240 wīdfæðme.** Cf *Beow* 302 *sīdfæðmed scip*, 1917 *sīdfæðme scip* Bonnet, p 69 *πλοῖάριον μικρὸν, Legend, p 116 hē geseah scip on þām waroðe, but later, hwider wille gē faran mid þis medmīclum scipe?*

**242 bēacna beorhtost** That is, the sun, Cos (*PBB* XXI, 9) notes *Hehand* 545, where the phrase is used of the guiding star of the three kings With *morgentorht* as compound adj, cf *heofontorht*, 1018 Cf *Beow* 2777 *bēacna beorhtost* (of the *segn*, i.e. banner), *Chr* 1085 *bēacna beorhtast* (of the cross)

**243** After *heolstre*, Grimm, Kemble, and Wulker have no punctuation, Grein has a comma, Baskervill and Cook a semicolon Since the construction changes here from *cōm* + infinitive to simple preterit, a semicolon seems necessary after *heolstre*, otherwise we should expect the infinitive *blīcan* instead of *blāc* Grein puts a comma after *blāc*, but Grein<sup>2</sup> removes it, ‘da *blāc* verbum ist’ Cf 1541, note, for the meaning of *blāc*, and for the construction *becōm . . . blīcan*, see 788–789 — *heofoncandel*. The word occurs also in *Ex* 115, with reference to the pillar of fire, *Chr* 608, the sun and moon, *Wonders of Creation* 54, the stars Cf 372, note

**253 cēolum lācað.** Cf 256<sup>b</sup>, *Chr* 851 *ofer cald wæter cēolum līðan*

**255 fūs on faroðe.** Cf *Gu* 918 *fūs on forðweg*, *Gu* 773 *fūsne on forðweg*, etc, *Beow* 1916 *fūs æt faroðe* — 255<sup>b</sup> *fægn*. Cf Bonnet, p 70 *ἐχάρη χάραν μεγάλην σφόδρα, Legend, p 116 and hē was gefēonde mid mycle gefēan and him tō cwæð* Cosijn also calls attention to 602<sup>b</sup>

**256 hwanon.** Cf also 258<sup>b</sup> and 264<sup>a</sup> Bonnet, p 70, reads *Ποῦ πορεύεσθε*, etc, and in answer, *Πορεύμεθα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων, Legend, p 116 hwider wille gē faran*, and the answer, the verb being omitted, *On Marmadonia caestre* Ll 265–269 are additions of the poet — 256<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr* 852, *Met* XXVI, 60 *cēole līðan*

**257 mācræftige.** Cf 472, these are the only two occurrences of *mā-*, compar of *micel*, in compounds The meaning of the word appears to be as Grein, *Spr* II, 202, translates, ‘praepotens, vor andern geschickt,’ *Dicht*, ‘kraftvolle Manner’ Gm, note, says ‘Ich vermute ein altes subst *mā*, synonym und wurzel

von *mere*, **mācræftig** = *mere cræftig*, so K, in his translation 'men powerful on the sea' Unfortunately no root *mā* = *mere* is recorded Root translates 'men in seamanship expert', Hall, 'ye expert mariners'

258 **āne ægflotan** Translate 'Whence have ye come sailing in ships, in this admirable vessel, valiant men, in your sea-rusher (ship)?' Grein, *Spr* I, 65, glosses **ægflotan** as inst sg, taking the phrase thus as appositive to **cēolum**, 256<sup>b</sup>, so also Cook, and Root, 'Seafaring on your ocean-coursing bark, Your lonely ship' All other Edd take the phrase either as appositive to **gē**, 256<sup>a</sup>, or as vocative, *Dicht*, 'im Meeresboote als einsame Fischer', K, as voc, 'solitary floaters over the wave,' Hall, 'lonegoing sailors' But **ægflota** should mean 'ship,' not 'sailor', cf **flota**, 397, **sæflota**, 381, **wægflota**, 487, *El* 246, *Beow* 1907 For the meaning 'admirable' for **ān**, cf *Beow* 1885 **þæt wæs ān cyning** The Greek here reads (Bonnet, p 70) *μετὰ τοῦ πλοῦ τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου*

259 **ofer yða gewealc**. So *Beow* 464, *Edg* 45, **ymb yða gewealc**, *Seaf* 46, **atol yða gewealc**, *Ex* 455, *Seaf* 6

260 **ælmūht**. Cf *Chronicle*, Laud MS, 656, ed Earle and Plummer, I, 30 **ælmūht** god, *Beow* 218 **fāmheals**, *Sat* 33 **hū hē þæt scyldi werud**, *Gen* 1463 **hungri to handa**, and so frequently

261 **swā þæt ne wiste**. Translate 'Him then answered almighty God, as though He knew this not, He who awaited his words, what of men he [Andrew] was, of human kind [**meðelhēgendra**], whom He there at the sea shore conversed with' Grein, *Dicht*, places ll 261-263 within parentheses, translating **swā þæt** by 'wiewohl das nicht wusste, der des Wortes harrete,' etc Kemble, Root, and Hall take **swā þæt** as conj introducing a result clause, Hall remarking on **swā**, 'in such a way that Andrew did not suspect that it was God' But the translators are certainly wrong in translating **swā þæt** by 'so that' Omitting the parenthetic clause 261<sup>b</sup>, **þæt** is seen to be the object of **wiste**, the clause **hwæt**. **wiðþingode** being appositive to it As in 501, *Chr* 850 (see *An* 501, note), and *Beow* 3050 (see Kruger, *PBB* IX, 576-577), **swā** = 'as if'

262. Cf *El* 902-903 **Hwæt is þis, lā, manna, þe mīnne eft þurh fyrngeslit folgaþ wyrdeð?** See 734, note, 885, note Cf *Ap* 25, *Beow* 233 **hwæt þā men wæron**, *Chr* 574 **hwæt se Hlāford is**

265 **feorran geferede**. So *El* 992, cf 1173, and *Beow* 361 **Hēr syndon geferede feorrancumene**, *Sal* 178 **feorran gefered**

266. **hranrāde**. Literally, the 'whale-road', the word occurs, beside the three passages in *Andreas*, in *Beow* 10 and *Gen* 205 Cf *swanrād*, 196, *Beow* 200, *El* 997, *Jul* 675, and see 223, note

267. **snellic sāmearh**. Cf *Beow* 690 **snellic sārinc — snūde bewunden**. Cosijn bases his emendation on the lines, *Whale* 17-18

	cēolas standað
bi staþe fæste	strēame biwunden

But **sunde bewunden** is commonplace, whereas **snūde bewunden**, 'enwreathed with speed' (Brooke, p 415), is quite in the manner of the poet of *Andreas*, cf 19, 535, 772, *El* 733 **leohte bewundene Snūd**, noun, occurs only in this passage, **snūde**, adverb, occurs a number of times



**271-276** Cf 474-479 — Brooke, p 416 'The extreme naiveté of the demand for payment and the bargaining on the part of God, belong to the freshness of the morning of poetry, while the conversation supplies us with a clear picture of the manners and talk of travellers and seamen We stand among the merchant carriers of the eighth century in England' Neither the Greek nor the *Legend* have at this place the remark of Andrew that he has no money with which to pay his fare, but in both, immediately on stating his wish, he is invited to enter the ship, — without condition in the Greek, but the *Legend*, p 116 (cf *An* 295-297), says *Āstigað on þis scip tō ūs, and sellað ūs ēowerne færscat* In both versions Andrew then explains that he is without money or other provision for the journey

**273 brante cēole.** Cf *Beow* 238 *brontne cēol*, *El* 238 *bronte brimþisan*, and *Beow* 2807 *brentingas* = 'ships' Grimm, p 103, takes the adjective to mean 'foaming,' 'rushing' But cf Icel *brattr* (Cleas-Vig, p 76), 'steep,' and dial North-English *brant*, *brent* = 'steep'

**274 hēa hornscipe.** The only occurrence of the word *hornscip* Grein, *Spr* II, 98, 107, calls attention to *hringedstefna*, 'ship,' *Beow* 32, 1131, 1897, and to Icel *Hringhorni*, the name of a ship (cf Cleas-Vig, p 285), cf also *hringnaca*, *Beow* 1862 — 274<sup>b</sup> So *Seaf* 60

**276 þæt.** Cos (*PBB* XXI, 9) regards *þæt* as equivalent to *gif*, and cites a second example from Boethius, ed Fox, p 234, l 25 But the probable reading in the passage from Boethius is *þær*, as it is given in Sedgefield's edition (Oxford 1899), p 136, l 26 According to Sedgefield's glossary, *þær* = *gif* occurs some 14 times in Boethius, but no example of *þæt* = *gif* is recorded The clause *þæt . . . weorðe* is a noun clause, the subject of *bið* (or in apposition with the subject), or dependent on the verbal idea in *bið meorð* 'God shall reward you that,' etc (Kittredge) Cf 480-483 — 276<sup>b</sup> Cf *Ap* 92<sup>a</sup>

**279-360.** Cf Walker, pp 350-351 'And Jesus having heard Andrew saying, I too am going to the country of the man eaters, says to him Every man avoids that city, and how are you going there? And Andrew answered and said We have some small business to do there, and we must get through with it, but if thou canst, do us this kindness to convey us to the country of the man-eaters, to which also you intend to go Jesus answered and said to them Come on board And Andrew said I wish to make some explanation to thee, young man, before we come on board thy boat And Jesus said Say what thou wilt And Andrew said to him We have no passage-money to give thee, we have not even bread for our nourishment And Jesus answered and said to him How, then, are you going away without giving us the passage-money, and without having bread for your nourishment? And Andrew said to Jesus Listen, brother, do not think that it is through masterfulness that we do not give thee our passage money, but we are disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, the good God For He chose for Himself us twelve, and gave us such a commandment, saying, When you go to preach, do not carry money in the journey, nor bread, nor bag, nor shoes, nor staff, nor two coats If, therefore, thou wilt do us the kindness, brother, tell us at once, if not, let us know, and we shall go and seek another boat for ourselves And Jesus answered and said to Andrew If this is the commandment which you

received, and you keep it, come on board my boat with all joy For I really wish you, the disciples of Him who is called Jesus, to come on board my boat, rather than those who give me of their silver and gold, for I am altogether worthy that the apostle of the Lord should come on board my boat And Andrew answered and said Permit me, brother, may the Lord grant thee glory and honour And Andrew went on board the boat with his disciples'

286 ff Again the poet heightens the statement of his original, cf Bonnet, p 70 Πρῶτῳ τῷ μικρὸν ἔχομεν ἐκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, *Legend*, p 116 Medmycelærende wē þider habbað and ūs is þearf þæt wē hit þēh gefyllon

293<sup>b</sup> Cf *Runic Poem* 46 ofer fisceþ beþ, and see 223, note

294<sup>b</sup>-295<sup>1</sup> Cf *Gn* 1061-1062 þær mīn hyht myneð tō gesēcenne þær = 'to which', cf 909, note

297 All Edd have a comma after *gescrifene*, except C, a semicolon, B also has a comma after *āras* of his text, the other Edd no punctuation

298 *āras*. Reading *āra* with Gn<sup>2</sup> (also *Dicht* and *Sp* II, 625), Cook, and apparently also Simons (the word *āras*, 298, is not given under *ār*, but see under *unnan*, p 146), we should have to take *āra* as the genitive object of *unnan willað* Thus Root translates 'so upon our bark the seamen will grant honor unto you' But *ār*, 'honor,' hardly seems an appropriate meaning for the word in the present context

In the light of the antithetic phrase, *āras on earde*, 400<sup>a</sup>, it would seem almost necessary to retain the form *āras* in the present passage, cf also 495<sup>a</sup> The word would thus be appositive to *scipweardas*, as in l 400 it is appositive to *beornas*, 399<sup>b</sup> If we accept this reading the chief difficulty lies in the disposition of *unnan willað* Kemble translates 'after ye your payment have given, the appointed sum, according as the ship warders, the men over the sea-board, will grant to you', Hall, 'and pay us the appointed tribute that the masters, messengers [following B's punctuation], demand o'er the ship's side' Hall's treatment of *swā* as equivalent to a relative pronoun is supported by other examples, see B-T, p 940, but both Hall's 'demand' and Kemble's 'grant' (=appoint) are unauthorized meanings for *unnan* Professor Kittredge suggests taking *unnan willað* as simply summing up and repeating what is said before, in 292 ff The logical object of *unnan willað* is thus contained in *swā*, the antecedent idea of *swā* being the lines 292-297<sup>b</sup> Professor Bright regards *swā* as conjunctive adverb, and paraphrases the passage as follows 'as the sailors (*āras*) will be willing to have you do, that is, will allow you to pay' The phrase *unnan willað* he thinks may be a formula of polite expression, it occurs also in l 146

It seems best to regard *unnan willað* as referring especially to the paying of the fare and not to the general situation The meaning of the verb phrase would be therefore 'agree to,' 'adjudge' This meaning suits the context also in the parallel construction, where the statement, however, is negative, ll 178-179 The meaning of *willað* in this construction appears to be less one of volition, desire, than of mere intention This seems clearly the value of *unnan woldē*, 146, and cf the three examples of the construction in the first person, 84, 458, 1412 300 *wineþearfende*. So *Gn* 1321.

301 **fæted**. A noun *fæti*, 'plate,' 'ornament,' occurs twice in *Beowulf* the adjective *fæted* occurs, as simplex and in compounds, ten times. Beside the passages in *Andreas* and *Beowulf*, the word occurs elsewhere only twice, *Husband's Message*, l 35 *fættan* (MS *fædan*) *goldes*, and *Rud* LII, 7 *fæted gold*

302 **wīra gespann**. Cf *El* 1133-1134 *tēaras fēollon ofer wīra gespon*, spoken of Elene, *Gen* 762 *hæft mid hringa gesponne*, i.e. 'in chains', so also *Gen* 377 *Beow* 2413, speaking of the treasure of the fire drake, reads *sē was innan full wrættas ond wīra*. Perhaps, as Professor Fied Tupper, Jr, suggests to me, *fibulae* are meant. Numerous examples of Anglo Saxon *fibulae* and armlets are figured in Akerman, *Archæological Index to Remains of Antiquity of the Celtic, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Periods*, plates XVI, XVII, XVIII, in De Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Anglo Saxons*, and in Read, *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age in the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities* (of the British Museum), 1904, passim

303 **landes nē locenra bēaga**. The half-line seems to have been taken over bodily from *Beow* 2996

sealde hiora gehwæðrum hund þisenda  
landes ond locenra bēaga

The syntax of the phrase in *Andreas* is not clear. **Landes** cannot be a genitive after **gespann**, in the same construction with **wīra**. Schroer (*Eng Stud* X, 121) omitting **landes nē** would construe **locenra bēaga** as appositive to **wīra**. Sievers (*PBB* X, 314), who regards the passage as corrupt, would apparently explain it in the same way, metacally he thinks both *landes ond* and *landes nē* are to be eliminated. Lines of similar structure, however, are found frequently in *Andreas*, cf 51, 682, 779, 795, 796, etc. Shipley, p 48, translates 'I have neither beaten gold nor treasure, riches nor food, nor ornaments of wire, (nought) of land nor closed rings'. As Shipley points out, this is the only instance in Anglo-Saxon poetry of *nabban* followed by the genitive, but for examples in the prose, see Wulfing I, 21. The 'nought' of Shipley's translation is supplied from the general negative statement of the preceding clause, and Professor Kittredge suggests that **landes nē locenra bēaga** is to be regarded as partitive genitive dependent on the negative idea of the sentence. It is possible, however, that the passage is a direct borrowing from *Beowulf* which was imperfectly assimilated into the logical and syntactical structure of the sentence in which it occurs. The extravagance of speaking of gifts of rings and of land is of course part of the general method of the poem, cf *Introd*, pp 11 ff. With **locenra bēaga** cf *hringloca*, 'corslet,' *Mald* 145, *locene leoðosyrca*, *Beow* 1505, 1890, *gūðbyrne hondlocen*, *Beow* 322, *licsyrce hondlocen*, *Beow* 550

305. **bolcan**. Also 602, the only other occurrence of the word in poetry is *Beow* 231 *beran ofer bolcan*

306. **waroða geweorp**. K translates 'the dashing of the waves,' though he does not change his text to *faroða*. Gn, *Dicht*, 'uber des Ufers Gewerfe'. Cook suggests 'the smiting of the shores, perhaps meaning the plunging of the breakers'. Sweet, *Dict*, glosses **waroða geweorp** by 'surf'. But cf B-T, *geweorp* = 'heap of earth thrown up by a beetle'. The picture here is of the

ridge or heap of sands at the sea shore, the thought is continued in *sæbeorgas*, 308<sup>a</sup>, and *cald cleofu*, 310<sup>a</sup>

307 *þæs*. The construction is the accusative of the person to whom a thing happens, with the genitive of the thing that happens, both dependent upon *geweorðan*, as impersonal Shipley, p 42, points out similar constructions in *Beow* 1598, 1996, 2026 — 307<sup>b</sup> So 1431<sup>b</sup>, *Soul* 138

308 *woldes* Other forms with *-es* in the pret sg of the second person of weak verbs are *hæfdes*, 530, *feredes*, 1363, *forhogedes*, 1381 See *Gram*, § 356 and notes

310<sup>b</sup> So *Beow* 1806

313 After *dugoðe* K puts a colon, all other Edd a question mark — 313<sup>b</sup> Cf *Chr* 856 *wæs sē drohtað strong*, also of a (figurative) voyage Cf 1385

314 *lange*. C takes *lange* as adj agreeing with *lagolāde* So also the translations But cf 579, 1363, and translate 'The life is hard for him who for a long time goes on a water-journey'

316 *wīs on gewitte*. See 552, and note — *wordhord onlēac*. So 601, *Beow* 259, *Metr* VI, 1, *Wid* 1

320-323 Cf *Beow* 1384-1385 *sēlre bīð æghwæm þæt hē his freond wrece þonne hē fela murne*

320 *sārcwide*. All the translations take *sārcwide* as inst sg, so also *Spr* II, 391, and Cook, note, 'inst sg parallel with *mid oferhygdum*' But the natural parallel is between *ondsware* and *sārcwide* Translate therefore as obj of *sēce* The prep phrase *mid oferhygdum* modifies both nouns

322 *cūðlice*. 'Kindly, friendly' The following passages illustrate the meaning of the word *hine sē Godes monn ūp hōf ond him cūðlice tō spræc* (*Bright, Reader*, p 62, l 12),

Ārās þā metodes þēow  
 gastum tōgēanes, grētan ēode  
 cuman cūðlice, cynna gemunde  
 rht ond gersno

*Gen* 2429-2432

— *swā þæt Crīst bebēad*. Apparently a general allusion to such passages as *Matt* XXV, 35 ff, *Heb* XIII, 2, etc The Greek and Anglo Saxon prose quote an entirely different verse, *Matt* X, 10, *Mark* VI, 9, at this place, the sense of the allusion in *Andreas* is implied, however, in the verse as quoted in the Greek and prose

323<sup>a</sup> So 479<sup>a</sup>, *Chr* 457, 944, *Ex* 363 — *his*. Cf 1664, where the MS reads *his* and the context demands *is* Wulker inconsistently reads *his* in both passages

324. Cf *Beow* 206 *cempan gecorone*, *Gu* 769 *cempan gecorene*

327 *swā hē*. Equivalent to 'who', cf 1514, *swā hit* = 'which' — *ānes cræfte*. So *Jul* 359, and cf 525, *Chr* 567 *ānes meahtum*, *ibid* 685 *þurh his ānes cræft*

328 *hefon*. Oumlaut of *e, i*, is regular in the *Andreas*, but is lacking here and in *breogo* (twice) and *werod* (twice), see Glossary

329 *sigora sēlost* Translate 'best' or 'most eminent in victories' The phrase does not occur elsewhere *Sigora sellend* occurs *Jul* 668, 705, and *Panther* 64 *Sēlost* with the partitive genitives *beorna*, *folca*, *sigelēana*, and other

nouns, forming a phrase superlative, is of frequent occurrence. But *sigora* in the present passage (not recorded by Shipley, p. 78) is not a partitive genitive, but a genitive after a form of the word *gōd*. Cf. *Beow* 269 *wes þū ūs lārena gōd*, *Seaf* 40 *ne his gifena þæs gōd*, *Brun* 47-48, *hlíhhan ne Ɔorfton Ɔæt hī beaduweorca beteran wurdon*. Root, reading *sellenū*, translates 'Giver of victory'. Professor Fred Tupper, Jr., calls my attention to *Ex* 433 *sōðfæst sigora*.

**331 geond gonne grund** So *Wid* 51, where it means 'over the spacious earth', *Beow* 1551 *under gynne grund*, 'beneath the wide earth' = 'into Hell', *Jud* 2 *in Ɔrys ginnan grunde* = 'upon earth'. Cf. *Gen* 134 *geond sīdne grund*, 'over the broad earth'. K., 'beyond the abysmal deep', but Hall, better, 'into all the world'.

**332-339** This paraphrase is apparently made up from two passages, *Matt* X, 5 ff, and *Mark* XVI, 14 ff. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 71, l. 14) reads *καὶ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐντολὴν τοιαύτην, λέγων ὅτι πορεύομενοι κηρύσσειν μὴ βαστάζετε ἀργύριον ἐν τῇ ὁδοῦ μήτε ἄρτον μήτε πήραν μήτε ὑποδήματα μήτε βάβδον μήτε δύο χιτῶνας*. Cf. *Chr* 481-490 for a parallel to this passage.

Farað nū geond ealne yrmenne grund,  
geond wīdwegas, weoredum cȳðað,  
bodiað ond brēmað beorhtne gelēafan,  
ond fulwiað folc under roderum,  
hweorfað tō [hæðnum], hergas brēotaþ,  
fyllað ond fēogað, fēondscype dwæscað,  
sibbe sāwað, on sefan manna,  
þurh meahta spēd Ic ēow mid wunige  
forð on frōfre, ond ēow frīðe healde  
strengðu staþolfæstre on stōwa gehwāre

The excellent emendation *hæðnum* for the MS *heofonum*, l. 485, was suggested by Strunk, *MLN* XVII, 186.

**333.** Cf. *Beow* 1221-1224

Hafast þū gefēred þæt Ɔð feor ond nēah  
ealne wīdeferhþ weras ehtigað  
efne swā sīde swā sæ bebūgeð  
wīngde [e]ardweallas

*Beow* 92-93 *se ælmihtiga eorðan worhte swā wæter bebūgeð*, *Men* 230 *swā bebūgeð gebod*

**334 stedewangas stræte gelicgaþ** Cosijn reads *stedewanga*, gen. pl., 'denn die ganze welt sollten sie durchziehen'. But the advantages of this reading hardly justify changing the text. This is the only instance of *gelicgað* as a transitive verb. The prefix *ge-* makes the intrans. *licgað* trans. (Bright). Cf. 774, 1234.

**335<sup>a</sup>** Cf. *Ex* 510 *bodigean æfter burgum* — 335<sup>b</sup> So *Gu* 770, cf. *lēohte gelēafan*, *Aþ* 66, and note.

**336 freoðo healde.** Cf. also 915, 1432, *Chr* 489, *Gu* 281, *Gen* 2528. For other examples of *healdan* with inst., cf. *Beow* 296, 1182 *ārum healdan*, with gen., cf. *Mald* 41 *ēow frīðes healdan*.

**337<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *Beow* 37 *frætwa gelēded*

339 **āhwette** Cook, p 217, 'āhwette = supply, not the normal sense of the word' See 303 for an example of the usual sense

343 **ēce**. The MS *ēce* is interpreted by Wulker as meaning *æce*, for examples of the form *æce*, see *Spr* I, 230 Cf also l 89, where the MS reads *segl* But the usual spelling of the MS is *e*, *ē*, and there is no indication that the hook, or reversed cedilla, is here used to signify the digraph In *æglæawe*, *Ap* 24, *æ* is written for *e*

348<sup>b</sup>. Cf *Beow* 352, *Gen* 2357 *swā þū bēna eart*, *Beow* 3140 *swā hē bēna wæs*, *Gen* 2248 *swā ic bēna wæs*, *Beow* 364 *Hȳ bēnan synt*

352<sup>a</sup> Cf *Panthe* 8 *sealtȳþa geswng*

356 **worulde, wuldre**. This obvious antithesis of **woruld** and **wuldor**, the latter word being used in the generalized sense of 'heaven,' occurs less frequently than one would expect The only other examples are l 948, and *Gu* 370, *wuldor* in *Christ and Satan* 59 has a different meaning See my note, *Mod Phil* II, 407

358<sup>a</sup> Cf **on þām siðfæte**, 1662, also *Ex* 521, *Rid* XLIV, 7, *Vision of the Cross* 150, *tō ðysson siðfæte*, *Beow* 2639, *tō þām siðfæte*, *Hy* IV, 102 *of ðām siðfæte*, *Jud* 336

359 **helmwearde**. The change is necessary in l 396 and extremely probable in the present passage All the translations follow the MS The Greek (Bonnet, p 72, l 12) reads *καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐκαθέσθη παρὰ τὸ ἱστίον τοῦ πλοίου*, the Anglo-Saxon prose (*Legend*, p 117, l 2) and *hē gesæt beforan þām stēorrēþran þæs scipes*, *þæt was Drihten Hælend Crist*

360 **æðele be æðelum**. For other examples of repetition of the same word within the half-line, cf 615, 620, 738, 1012 Kluge, *PBB* IX, 426-427, collects further instances throughout the poetry For examples of the opposite device, the avoidance of the repetition within the half-line, cf 138, note — **Æfre ic ne hȳrde**. Cf *Beow* 38-39 *ne hȳrde ic cymlicor cēol gegyrwan hildewæpnum and heaðowædum*, *El* 240-242 *Ne hȳrde ic sið nē ær on ēgstrēame idese lædan on merestræte mægen fægrr* Cf *Beow* 1842-1843, quoted ll 505<sup>b</sup>-509, note

362 Kemble has no punctuation after **hēahgestrēonum**, and translates 'Never heard I that in a comelier ship laden with lofty treasures men sat, glorious kings, beauteous thanes'

364 ff. On this passage Brother Azarias (*Development of Old English Thought*, p 137) remarks 'This is a reminiscence of the saga of Woden playing the ferryman to deliver men from danger' On 987 ff, he says (p 138) 'Here is the work of the mythical tarn cap without the name' And on 1258, **hære hildstapan**, he says (p 139) 'Here is more than personation "Rime and frost, hoary warriors" these were real gods in the Northern mythology But Andrew suffers not, his wounds are healed before morning, as were the wounds of the heroes of old in the Northern sagas' But the motives of the poem were all derived from the source, and it is doubtful if they suggested to the poet any parallels to Norse mythology

365 **heht his engel gān** The Greek (Bonnet, p 72, l 14) adds *καὶ ἀνεγκε τρεῖς ἀπροὺς* — a loaf for each of the strangers

366 **mærne maguþegn** Cf *Beow* 2079 *mærum maguþegne*, of Hondscio, follower of Beowulf

367 **frēfran fēasceaftte**. Cf 365, note Cf *Chr* 175 *āfrēfran fēasceaftne*, l 368 *āfrēfre fēasceaftte* But Andrew's disciples do not eat, cf l 385 This incident is omitted in the prose *Legend*

369<sup>b</sup>-381 Cook, p 219, note 3, says 'There is no hint of any extraordinary commotion, much less of a storm, in the original Of all this long description there is nothing except, "They were troubled because of the sea"' Brooke, p 416 'The storm is now described in words that come, one after another, short, heavy, and springing, like the blows of the waves, and the gusts of wind We know as we read that the writer has seen the thing' Cf 427, note

370 **hornfisc** The only occurrence of the word Cf *Beow* 540 *wit unc w1ð hornfixas werian þōhton* Possibly we should read *hronfisc* in the present passage But cf Icel *hornfiskr* (Danish *hornfisk*), and *horngæla*, 'the garfish or greenbone' (Cleas V1g, p 279)

371<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 515 *glidon ofer gārsecg*, of swimmers in the sea — se **grāega mæw**. The mew or sea gull, frequently mentioned in the verse The name (Germ *mowe*, Icel *mār*) was perhaps originally imitative of the cry of the bird (Whitman, "The Birds of OE Literature," in *Jour of Germ Phil* II, 180)

372 **wedercandel** The word occurs again, *Ph* 187, cf also *wedertācen*, *Gn* 1267, and *wederes blæst*, *An* 837, both in the sense of 'sun' See also **wederburg**, 1697, note The word **candel**, to the modern mind an anticlimax after 'sun,' to the Anglo Saxon mind must have connoted dignified ideas The word was ecclesiastical in origin and was introduced into English early after the conversion to Christianity Its use in poetic compounds evidently reflects some of its sacred character, cf *NED* s v 'candle,' and *Rom and Jul* III, v, 9 'Night's candles are burnt out' Cf **heofoncandel**, 243, **dægacandel**, 835, Godes condelle, *Ph* 91

374 **gurrōn** Glossed by Greim and B-T under *georran*, but the more probable infinitive is *gierran*, *gyrran* (cf *Gram*, § 388, note 1, and Sweet, *Dict*, p 75) The only other occurrence of the word is in Ælfric's *Grammar* (cf B-T, p 428), *ic gyrrre*, 'garnio'

375 **wādo gewætte**. Gm, translating 'vadum madefiebat, replebatur aquis,' and Gn, *Dicht*, 'wogen schwellen,' take **wādo** as nom pl of *wād* = 'wave, ocean' K, followed by Hall, 'wet with the waters', Root, 'drpping with the waves', and Brooke, p 171, 'wet with breaking sea,' understand the form as inst sg of the same word But, as Cosijn points out, the inst form is *wāde*, and even **wāde gewætte** is not a plausible reading Cosijn's *wada gewælte* fits the context but involves too great a departure from the MS forms B, B-T (s v *wād*), and Simons, p 148, take **wādo** as nom pl of *wād*, 'sail, cordage' The present passage is the only occurrence of *wād* in this sense, except in the glosses, but the following examples place the meaning beyond a doubt *W W* 5, 44, *antenne*, *wāde* (cf 6, 1, *antenna*, *seglgærd*), *W W* 450, 33, *mataxa*, *wāde*, *W W* 515, 15, *rudentibus* (*indisruptis*), *wāderapum* (*untoslitenum*) Cf also Icel (Cleas-V1g, p 683) *vað*, 'a piece of stuff, cloth,' metaph 'a fishing-net,' and in poetry 'a sail,' with compound *vāð-hæfr*, adj, 'fit for sail' **Wādo gewætte** is accordingly nom pl, and, as we should expect, a parallel phrase to **strengas**, 374<sup>b</sup> For the pret part form **gewætte** instead of *gewated*, cf *Gram*, § 402, 2 — Grimm,

Grein, and Wulker have only a comma after *gewætte*, the other Edd a semicolon — *stōd*. Cook, p 219, note 6 'A peculiar use of *standan* to indicate motion rather than rest In Mod Eng this general sense is represented in phrases like "stand back," "stand off from shore," "stand up," "stand out," etc' The examples are numerous *Beow* 726 him of ēagum stōd lēoht unfæger, *Chron* 892 (Parker MS) men cweþaþ on Englisc þæt hit sie feaxede steorna forþæm þær stent lang lēoma of, *Finnesh* 37 swurdlēoma stōd Cf the similar development in *licgan* = 'extend,' 'flow,' said, for example, of rivers and bodies of water

376 *prēata prýðum* Brooke, p 171, 'with the strength of armies' 'This seems an impersonation almost too fine for so early a time It is quite in the manner of the modern imagination It is Kemble's translation, and Grein's is more probable, though I do not like to surrender the other — "Machtig durch die Massen"' Root, 'with the might of multitudes', Hall, 'the waves in battalions mast-high mounted' An even more dramatic personification is that of ll 443-445

377<sup>b</sup>-380 Cf *Beow* 691-692 Næning heora þöhte, þæt hē þanon scolde eft eardlufan æfre gesēcean, cf also *Beow* 1596-1599

381 *sund wīsoðe*. Cf 488

382 *holmwege* The only occurrence of the word Should one read here *wæg* = *wāg* (cf l 601), the compound meaning 'sea wave'? But cf *bæð*-, *flōð*-, *flotweg*, and *brimrād*

383 *argeblond* The only occurrence of this word and its companion forms, *ārýð*, 532, and *ārwele*, 853 *Argeblond* is glossed by Gn, *Spr* I, 37, 'remorum commixtio, mare remis turbatum,' *ārýð*, *Spr* I, 39, 'unda remis pulsata,' and *ārwele*, 'davitæ remorum, mare' B-T, and Sweet, *Dict*, follow *Spr*, so also Cook Professor Hart makes the unquestionably correct suggestion that *argeblond* = *eargeblond* (*ārýð* = *earýð*, *ārwele* = *earwele*), as in *El* 239, *Brun* 26, *Met* VIII, 30 The fanciful combinations of *ār* = 'oar' with *geblond*, *ýð*, and *wela*, as they occur only in these passages in *Andreas*, may therefore be dropped from the dictionaries

387<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu* 565, 581, *Dan* 409

393 *geofon gēotende*. Cf *Beow* 1690 gifen gēotende, and see 1508, 1585 — *grund*. The sense demands here, as in l 425, the meaning 'deep sea, ocean' *Spr* I, 531, cites as the only other example of this meaning *Beow* 1551 *under gymne grund*, but cf 331, note *Sægrund*, however, occurs, *Beow* 564, and elsewhere, and *watergrund* once, *Ps* CVI, 23 Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 10) cites a gloss (*Bluckl Gl* p 258) *grund*, 'profundum,' *grundas*, 'abyss(os), -i'

394<sup>a</sup> So 1529<sup>a</sup>, *Chr* 168

395<sup>a</sup>. So *El* 138, 1292, *Ex* 101, 300, cf l 1571 — 395<sup>b</sup> Cf *Gu* 1170 *mōð-geþanc mīclum gebisgad*

396 *helman*. See l 359, note

405-414 The response of Andrew's disciples in the Greek is as follows (Bonnet, p 74, ll 7-8) 'Εάν ἀποστῶμεν ἀπὸ σοῦ, ξένοι γενώμεθα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὧν παρέσχεν ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος νῦν οὖν μετὰ σοῦ ἐσμεν ὅπου δ' ἂν πορεύῃ The *Legend* (p 117, ll 11-13) reads Gif wē gewītað fram þē, þonne bēo wē fremde fram eallum þām gōðum þe þū ūs gearwodeast, ac wē bēoð mid þē swā hwyder swā þū færest The passage in *Andreas* is not, therefore, as is stated by Hall, p 75, and Cook, p 221, entirely



original with the poet, its feeling, however, for the *comitatus*, the ideal of allegiance to an over-lord, is original with the poem. For a discussion of the *comitatus*, see l 3, note, and Introd, p lii. Tacitus, *Germania* 14, tells us that among the Germans it was considered the greatest disgrace for a retainer to survive his leader 'Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse'. And the same motive appears in the reproach which Wiglaf addresses to the cowardly followers of Beowulf

Nū sceal sincþego and swyrdgifu,  
eall ēðelwyn ēowrum cynne,  
lufen ālicgean londrihtes mōt  
þære mægburge monna æghwylc  
īdel hweorfan, syððan æðelingas  
feorran gefricgean fīēam ēowerne,  
dōmlēasan dæd! Dēaþ brīð sēlla  
eorla gehwylcum þonne edwiltif  
ll 2884-2891

See also *Mald* 220-252 ff

406 **gōde orfeorme**. Also l 1617, *Jud* 271, *Mod* 49. Cosijn quotes the Greek, see 405-414, note. *Dicht* translates 'gottverlassen', Kemble, 'of good devoid', Root, 'forsaken quite by God', Hall, 'God-forsaken'

408-409 Cf *Chr* 193<sup>b</sup>-195<sup>a</sup> scyle mānswara lāþ lēoda gehwām lifgan siþþan, fracōð in folcum

410. **æht besittaþ**. Equivalent syntactically to *eakhtað*, of which the following clause may be considered the object. The same phrase occurs l 608 and *El* 473

412 **hlāforde zet hilde**. The scansion of the half-line is  $\underline{\text{L}}\text{—}\times | \underline{\text{L}}\times$ , according to Sievers, *Aligermansche Metrik*, § 85, note 2, the only other occurrence of a trisyllabic word of the form  $\underline{\text{L}}\text{—}\times$  as the first element of a line of this type is *Gu* 602 *gästlicne goddrēam*,  $\underline{\text{L}}\text{—}\times | \underline{\text{L}}\text{—}$

414 **nearu**. Cf *Beow* 2594 *nearo þrowode*. The acc sg is regularly *-e*, exceptionally (Sievers, *PBB* I, 493) *-u*, *-o*, in *Mald* 48, *Beow* 2350 (to which add *Beow* 2594), and the present passage

416<sup>b</sup> So l 1497<sup>b</sup>, *El* 723

421 **ofer fealuwne flōd**. Cf *Beow* 1950 *ofer fealone flōd*. 'The most common use of *fealo* is in connection with water. But the various passages in which the sea is referred to as fallow flood, seem to be more conventional and to introduce the word, in part, perhaps, because of the convenient alliteration. I hardly think that in these passages the word means dusky, as is sometimes suggested, but perhaps yellowish green, a common color in the English and Irish channels' Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *Pub of MLA* XIV, 198-199

424 **sund is geblonden**. Preserving the MS reading, K translates 'the sand is mixed together, the abyss with the strand' Hall, and Brooke, p 171, follow K. Reading **sund**, Gn, *Dicht.*, translates 'die Flut ist gemengt, der Grund mit dem Gnesse'. Wulker remarks that the change from **sand** to **sund** is unnecessary, 'wie schon v 425, **grund wið grēote** hatte beweisen können'. But **grund** is appositive to **sund**, and as **grund** can mean here only 'ocean' (see 425, note) its evidence bears quite the other way. Cf the parallel picture, *Beow* 212

strēamas wundon, sund wīð sande *Gu* 1308, *sondlond gespearu, grond wip grēote*, is not a parallel, as it describes the landing of a boat on shore *El* 251, *sande bewrecene*, should surely read *sunde bewrecene*, since the boats here were not beached, but were riding at anchor

425 **grund wīð grēote** For **grund** = 'ocean, deep,' cf l 393, note With **grēote** = 'shore,' cf runic inscription (*Bibl* I, 282), þær hē on grēut giswom

425<sup>b</sup>-426 Cf *Beow* 478<sup>b</sup>-479 God ēaþe mæg bone dolscaðan dæda getwæfan, *Chr* 173-174 God ēaðe mæg gehælan hygesorge Cf also l 933, and *Beow* 2764 sinc ēaðe mæg gumcynnes gehwone oferhigian

426 **heaðoliðendum**. The word occurs twice elsewhere, *Beow* 1798 and 2955 (appositive to *sæ-mannum*) The first element appears as simplex in *Beow* 1862 sceall hrng-naca ofer heaþu bringan lāc ond luf-tācen But cf *Beow* 2477, *ofer heafo*, 'over the ocean' Gm, p 106 (so also *Spr* II, 40, B-T, p 523), explains the word as derived from *heahþo*, 'altitudo,' and distinguishes from *heaþo*, 'bellum,' which he says would give the meaning 'piratae' But Kluge (*PBB* IX, 190) would change *Beow* 1862, *heabu*, to *heafu*, pl of *hæf* (as in *Beow* 2477), and rejects the explanation *heaþo* = *heahþo*, since the form in compounds should be *hæaþ-* He would read therefore *heaþoliðende* = 'kampseefahrer', so also Sweet, *Dict*, 'war sailor, sea-warrior' But neither argument is conclusive, the meaning 'sea' for **heaþo-**, however, may be accepted as certain

427 It is not until this point in the narrative in the Greek version that the boat is cast loose from land, cf Bonnet, p 74, ll 13-14 *Kai eððis eipen ð 'Iησοûς ἐν τῶν ἀγγέλων, Ἀπόλυσον τὸ πλοῖον* The *Legend* does not state clearly when the voyage begins

428 **wuldorspēdige** The only occurrence of the adj, but cf *Gen* 87 *setl wuldorspēdum welig*, of heaven

429 **Gē þæt gehogodon**. Cf *Beow* 632 ic þæt hogode þā ic on holm gestāh

430 **fāra folc** Cf l 1060<sup>a</sup>

432 **Ælmyrena**. There is nothing in the Greek or the *Legend* to correspond to this name The word is an adjective used as noun, the first element **æl** = **eal** (cf *almihtig*, *alwihite*, etc, for the form *al*), with the value of an intensive, the second element the adjective *myrce*, 'dark,' 'black', cf *alfale*, 'very poisonous' It means here Ethiopians Cf *Ap* 64 *mid Sigelwarum*, which corresponds to *apud Aethiopiam*, in Bede's martyrology, as the seat of Matthew's labors *Sigelware* is also used with the same meaning in *Ps* LXXI, 9, LXXXVI, 3, and *Ex* 69 See note to *Ap* 64 It is evidently from this traditional source which ascribes Africa or Ethiopia to Matthew as his mission that the poet has drawn the inference that the action of the story of Andrew and Matthew took place in the land of the Ethiopians For a discussion of the probable situation of Mermedonia, see *Introd* p lxxvi

436 **geðyð ond geðreatod**. Cf l 520, and *Sal* 533 *geðyð hīe [1e wæstmas] ond geðreatað* For *geðyð*, contract verb, cf *Gram*, § 408, note 18

438 ff See *Mark* IV, 36 ff

439<sup>b</sup> So *Beow* 507

442. **bordstæðu**. 'The cordage' or 'rigging' This is the only occurrence of the word, it is glossed in all the dictionaries (except Simons, p 17, 'schifftau')

as 'shore' But, as Cosijn points out (*PBB* XXI, 10), 'sea-shore' does not satisfy the demands of the context, since the boat is now in the open sea. Brooke, p 171, guesses 'bulwarks' The right meaning, however, is indicated by Ælfric's glossary, *nomina navium et instrumenta earum* (*WW* I, 288, 26), where *stæb* is glossed 'safon' *Safon, saphon* (according to DuCange) = *funis in p̄oia* The word must be taken as a synonym of *strengas*, 374, *wædo*, 375 The first element of the compound would mean 'ship,' the whole word 'the rigging of the ship'

443 *ȳð ððerre* Cf *Metr* XXVI, 29-30 *stunede s̄io brūne ȳð wið ððre*, and Psalm XLII, 7 'deep calleth unto deep' Cf 138, note

444<sup>b</sup>-445<sup>a</sup> The suggestion for the picture was found in the original, cf Bonnet, p 75, ll 3-4 *καὶ ἀνέμου μεγάλου γενομένου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης κυμαινομένης, ὥστε τὰ κύματα ὑψωθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῷ ἰστίῳ τοῦ πλοίου*, *Legend*, p 117, l 22 *fram þām winde wæs geworden swā þæt þā selfan ȳþa wæron āhafene ofer þæt scip* A similar but much weaker personification is found in *Beow* 783-784

Norð-Denum stōð  
atelic egesa ānra gehwylcum

445 *ȳðhd*. Cf the parallel, *ofer ȳðbord*, l 298 Gm, reading *ȳðlið*, translates 'undarum iter, via', so also Gn, *Dicht*, 'Schrecken oft am Seeweg', but *Spr* II, 767, 'navigium, navis'

448<sup>a</sup> So *Dan* 725<sup>b</sup>

449 *tō mærum* 'At the hands of the Lord,' as in *Chr* 773 *Utan ūs tō Fæder freoþa wilman* For other examples, see *Spr* II, 539 Professor Kittredge calls attention to the idiom *on nūman*, in which the equivalent phrase in MnE would demand 'from' (see *Spr* II, 297, for examples), and the construction to 'ask at' a person (see *NED* s v 'ask') Cf further *æt findan*, e g *Jul* 658-659 *þær gē [frōfra] āgun æt mæгна Gode*, *El* 1215 *æt þām bisceope bōte findan*, *An* 908 *milts æt mærum* For similar constructions with verbs of seeing, hearing, etc., see Sievers, *PBB* XII, 189 See also Wulfing, II, 321, s v *wilman*

451 Wulker has no punctuation after *ēadgufa*, all other Edd a comma or semicolon

453 *sessade*. The only occurrence of the word A noun *sess*, 'seat,' occurs *Beow* 2717 and 2756

454 *Ðā ūre mōð āhlōh*. Cf *Beow* 730 *þā his mōð āhlōg*, *Sal* 178 *næfre ær his ferhþ āhlōg* Büttenwieser, p 49, calls attention to the similar idiom in Icel (*þrymskwíða*, 31)

Hló Hlornþa  
hugr i bríósti

Cf l 140, note

455 *gesēgon* An Anglian form, cf *Gram*, § 391, 2, note 7

457<sup>b</sup> So *Gen* 2590

458 Cf *El* 574 *ic ēow tō sōþe secgan wille*

458-460 Cf *Beow* 572-573, *Wyrd oft nereð unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen dēah* Probably the same formula stood in *Rid* LXXIII, 9, where the phrase *gƿ his ellen dēag* remains in an otherwise corrupt passage Cf also *Fæd*, 48 ā

þē brð gedǣled, gif þē dēah hyge, *Gen* 1287–1288 Drihten wiste þæt þæs æðelinges ellen dohte, *Rid* LXII, 7 Gif þæs ondfengan ellen dohte, *Sat* 283–284 Forþon mæg gehycgan, se ðe his heorte dēah, þæt hē him āfirre frēcne geþohtas Grmm, p xlii, and Fntzsche, p 44, note *Hildebrandslied* 55 *ibu dir du ellen taoc* Cook (*JMLN* VIII, 59) cites numerous examples of the formula in Latin literature, from which the MnE proverb, 'Fortune favors the brave,' appears to have been derived The Greek (Bonnet, p 75, l 8) has nothing corresponding to 460<sup>b</sup> ὁ γὰρ κύριος Ἰησοῦς οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπη ἡμᾶς Perhaps the poet may have had in mind, however, Psalm XXXVII, 25 ff, and similar passages

On these passages Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p 236, remarks as follows 'Fate, says Beowulf, as he tells of his battle with the sea-monsters [*Beow* 572 ff], fate often saves a man *if he have plenty of courage*

Oft Wyrd preserveth  
undoomed earl, — if he doughty be

The same idea and the same phrase, with very slight change, passed into the Christian poetry of our ancestors, and have since become a commonplace' See 1612, note A somewhat similar sentiment is that of *Hy* I, IV, 116–117 (*Bibl* II, 223)

Gōð biþ þæt, þonne mon him sylf ne mæg  
wyrd onwendan, þæt hē þonne wel þolge

461 The whole line occurs again in *Gu* 484

463<sup>a</sup>. So 879, *Gu* 147

464. Cf l 820, and *Beow* 644–646 oþþæt semninga sunu Healfdenes sēcean wolde æfenræste, *Beow* 1640–1641, oþþæt semninga tō sele cōmon frome fyrdhwate

468 **gryrehwīle**. Although the second element of this compound usually carries with it the signification of 'time,' the first element here appears to bear all the meaning of the word — 'fright, terror' Sievers (*PBB* XVIII, 406) discusses similar compounds, e g *earfoðbrāg*, *earfoðhwīl*, with the value merely of *earfoð*, *Beow* 2427, *orleghwīla*, equivalent to the gen pl of *orlege*, *Beow* 2709, *sigeðhwīla*, equivalent to the gen pl of *sige*, and points out similar compounds with other expressions of time, e g OHG *sroh-tago*, 'sickness,' MHG *wē-tac*, *wē-tage*, 'pain, sorrow'

470<sup>a</sup> Cf l 552, note — 470<sup>b</sup> Cf l 671, *Jul* 79 ferþlocan onspēon, *El* 86 hreðerlocan onspēon

471–474 Cf ll 493–495, note, ll 553–554, note

474–476 Cf *Beow* 426–428 Ic þē nūðā, brego Beorht-Dena, biddan wille, eodor Scyldinga, āne bēne

478 Grmm and Baskervill put a period after **fætedsinces**

480. **gōdne** The strong form after **þinne** because the word is detached from its syntactical group? Professor Kittredge suggests that the adj is strong because it is here felt as an appositive to **þinne frēondscipe**

483 **ēste wyrðest**. The metre confirms the reading **ēste**, as in *Gen* 1509 þā him ealra wæs āra ēste ælmihtig God, and *Beow* 945 þæt hyre eald metod ēste wære

484 *cræftes nēosan*. Cf *Ap* 103

487 *bestēmdon*. The spelling *-on* for *-an* finds a parallel in *bruconne*, l 23

489 *on gifeðe*. This is the only occurrence of the phrase. The context favors *on geofone*, appositive to *on sǣbāte*, 490<sup>b</sup>, cf also τὴν θάλασσαν of the Greek version, l 490, note. For the meaning 'fate, lot, chance,' for *gifeðe*, cf *Beow* 3085 *wæs þæt gifeðe tō swið, þe ðone* [þeodcynung] *þyder ontyste*

490 *syxtýne siðum*. Cf Bonnet, p 75, ll 17-18 *ἐξκαιδέκατον γὰρ ἐπλευσα τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἰδοὺ τοῦτο ἐπτακαδέκατον*. In spite of this, Brooke, p 172, remarks 'Then, either because the poet wishes to give local color and invents voyages for Andrew, or, as I would fain believe, introduces his own personal experience of the deep and imputes it to Andrew, he tells how he has been sixteen times at sea, and contrasts these old journeys with his present one', also, p 414, 'There is even a personal touch, as I believe, in one passage, which speaks of his having been sixteen times on sea-journeys' Hammerich-Michelsen, *Aelteste christl. Epik.*, pp 99-100, translates this passage, ll 489-505, remarking 'steht der Herr Jesus nicht hier ungefahr ebenso am Bord, wie in dem Tagen des Heidenthums Thor oder Odin, wie im Mittelalter, der heilige Olaf?' Cf l 364 ff, note

491-492 Translate 'I cold as to my hands stirring the water streams' *Mundum frēorig* is paralleled by *Ph* 86 *feðrum strong*, and by *Ph* 100 *feðrum wolonc* (Bright) *Mundum* is to be regarded as a dative of specification. *Frēorig* is nom sg masc, agreeing with *ic*, 489<sup>a</sup>, and *hrērendum* is dat pl, agreeing with *mundum*. Cf *Wand* 4 *hrēran mid hondum hrīmcealdesǣ*, *Ch* 677-678 *sundwudu drifan, hrēran holmþræce*

492. *is ðys āne mā* 'Is this once more' Grein's translation, *Dicht* and *Spr* I, 32, 'doch ist dies ein grosser' (*āne* taken as nom sg neut weak) does not give the necessary meaning of one journey more, a seventeenth Cook, p 226, translates 'this makes another journey,' construing *āne* as Grein does, so also Root and Hall. Kemble translates 'this is once more'. As there is no reason why *āne* should be inflected weak, Kemble's interpretation of *āne* as instrumental adverb is to be preferred, *syxtýne siðum*, l 490<sup>b</sup>, is to be understood as adverbial, 'sixteen times' (cf *ððre siðe* etc), rather than 'on sixteen journeys' Cf *Ps* LXVIII, 4

Hiora is mycle mā þonne ic mē hæbbe  
on hēafde nū hǣra feaxes

493 *Swā = swā þēah*

493-495 Cf ll 498-499, *Beow* 247<sup>b</sup>-249<sup>a</sup> *Nǣfre ic mǣran geseah eorla ofer eorþan ðonne is eower sum, secg on searwum*, *Jul* 547<sup>b</sup>-550<sup>a</sup>

ic tō sōþe wāt  
þæt ic ǣr ne sið ðenig ne mētte  
in woruldrice wip þe gelic  
þristran geþohtes

Cf ll 553-554, note

494 *þryðbearn hǣleða*. The metre and the sense are both improved by Cosijn's emendation. Synonymous nouns in juxtaposition (except *Dryhten Hǣlend*, 541, 897, 1407) are not found elsewhere in *Andreas*, and but rarely in the body of the poetry, examples are cited by Sievers (*PBB* IX, 137) as follows

*Beow* 398, 1259, 2198, 2493, *Gu* 1119 Holthausen (*Angl Beibl* XV, 73-74) regards *El* 140 *daroth æsc*, as in the same construction See 1340<sup>a</sup>

495. *stēoran ofer stæfnan* Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 10) takes *stēoran* as infin, in which case *ofer* is illogical, unless with Gn, *Spr* II, 481, *stēoran* be taken as intransitive The better reading is that of Sievers in his comment on Cosijn's note *stēoran* acc sg of *stiora*, 'steersman,' appositive thus to *pryðbearn*, 494<sup>a</sup>, and *mann*, 493<sup>b</sup> — *hwileð* 'The surge resounds' Gm, K, Gn, read *hwileð* from a hypothetical *hwilan*, 'to delay' But Gn, *Spr* II, 121, cancels the form *hwileð* and glosses (p 117) under *hwelan*, 'clangere', so *Dicht*, 'Die Stromflut walzt sich' This is the only occurrence of the word, but *onhwileð*, 'ieboat,' is recorded by *WW* I, 528, 39, and a noun *on hwelunge*, 'in clangore,' *ibid*, I, 423, 20

496 *bēateþ brimstæðo*. Baskervill supposes a 3d sg *bēatap*, citing *prēatað*, 520, and *gangaþ*, 891, as further examples, but *prēatað* is the normal form for the 2d class of weak verbs, and *gangað* is plural (cf Bright's note, *MLN* II, 81), the construction looking to the implied sense Read therefore *bēateþ*, *strēamwelm*, 495<sup>b</sup>, being subject, and *brimstæðo*, acc pl, object, thus *Dicht*, 'Die Stromflut peitscht die Brandungsgestade' K, taking *brimstæðo* as two words, 'the sea beateh the shores' The picture of the surf on the shore is somewhat incongruous in a description of the open sea, and one would like to read as in l 442, but the other seems to be the conventional phrasing. cf besides 239, 1543, the following *Rid* III, 6 *hwælmere hlummeð*, *hlūde grimmeð*, *strēamas staþu bēatað*, and *Metr* VI, 15 *ēac þā rūman sǣ norðerne ȳst nēde gebædeð*, *þæt hīo strange geondstȳred on staðu bēateð* — *ful scrīd*. Gm presents the alternatives *fulscrīd*, 'plene instructus,' from *scrīd*, 'vestitus, ornatus, apparatus,' quoting *El* 258, subst, *gūðscrīd*, or *fulscrīd*, 'plene incedens,' from *scrīðan*, 'ire, ingredi,' though if from the latter word he thinks the form should be *fulscrīda* Gn, *Dicht* and *Spr* II, 411, Root, Hall, and Simons (p 118), follow Gm's second explanation, K, the first, translating 'this boat is fully clothed' As the second of Gm's explanations fits the context better than the first, it is to be accepted, cf also Icel (Cleas-Vig, p 557) *með fullum skrīð* (*Biskupa Sogur* II, 30), where *skrīð* means the gliding motion of the ship On the other hand the derivation of *scrīd* from *scrīdan* < *scrīd* derives some confirmation from the MnE *shrouds* of a ship, Icel *skrīð* (Cleas-Vig, p 558) has the same meaning

497. Cf *Beow* 218 *flota fāmi-heals fugle gelicost*

499 *ofer ȳðlāde*. The MS reading *ȳðlāfe* would mean 'on the shore', cf *Ex* 585, *on ȳðlāfe*, equivalent to *on geofones stāðe*, l 580, and *fȳres, homera lāf*, meaning 'sword' Bugge (*PBB* XII, 88-89) comments on the significance of *ȳðlāf*, 'shore'

501 *on landsceare*. Cf Bonnet, p 76, l 1 *ús ēnī rāhs ȳhs* The word occurs again, 1229, and cf *folcsceare*, 684 The word is another illustration of the fact that the second element of a compound may be practically meaningless, see 468, note

501-502 Cf *Chr* 850-851 *Nū is þon gelicost swā wē on lagufōde ofer cald wæter cēolum liðan*.

**504 brondstæfne.** The first element of this compound has of course nothing to do with *brand*, 'fire,' as in l 768. The picture intended is evidently the same as that in l 273, *brante cēole*. Grimm, p xxxv, suggested the reading *bront-stæfne*, followed by Grein and Cosijn. But perhaps *brond* is to be retained in the same sense as *stæfn*, forming thus a pleonastic compound, cf Icel (Cleas-Vig, p 76) *brandi*, 'the raised prow and poop, ship's beak,' *fellr bratti breki brondum hærru*, 'the waves rise high above the "brandar"'

The notion of shipwreck expressed by *brecan brondstæfne*, 'shatter the high-prowed (ship),' seems somewhat too violent for the context here. One would like to take *brondstæfne* as a noun compound, 'prow,' 'bow,' and read *brecan on* (or *ofer*) *brondstæfne*, 'there the storm nor the wind may move it, nor the water-floods break over the high prow.'

Grimm, Grein, and Wulker put only a comma after *brondstæfne*, the other Edd a semicolon — *snōweð*. Cf l 1430, note.

**505<sup>b</sup>-509** The allusions to the youth of the pilot are developed from a single word, a vocative *veavlorke* (Bonnet, p 76, l 2), in the *Πρόξενος*. But perhaps the poet of *Andreas* had in mind the following words spoken by Hroðgar of *Beowulf*, *Beow* 1841-1845

þē þā wordcwidas wi[t]tig Drihten  
on sefan sende<sup>1</sup> ne hýrde ic snotorlicor  
on swā geongum fēore guman þingian,  
þū eart mægenes strang ond on mōde frōd,  
wis wordcwida

**506 wintrum frōd.** The word *frōd*, literally 'wise,' is used frequently in the sense of 'advanced in years,' 'old,' eg *gēarum*, *misserum*, *fyrndagum frōd*, etc., see *Spr* I, 351.

**507 faroðlācende.** Nom, agreeing with *ðū*, l 505, or the implied subject of *hafast*, l 507. Cook, p 227, construes the word as vocative.

**511 on sǣlāde.** So *Beow* 1157, the only other occurrence of the noun is *Beow* 1139 *tō sǣlāde*.

**512 scipum under scealcum.** Grimm, p 109, has difficulty in explaining this phrase. He suggests for *scealcum* a form from a hypothetical *scealc* or *scelc*, Icel *skelkr*, 'fear, terror'. Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 11) regards both *scealcum* and the plural *scipum* with suspicion, suggesting that the half line may have been taken bodily from some other poem. But the plural *scipum* is in keeping here, the statement is a generalization and need not apply to a single ship. In syntax the word is to be taken as coordinate with *brimhengestum*, 513<sup>b</sup>. For *scealc*, 'sailor,' cf. *Whale* 30-31 *ond þonne in dēaðsele drence bifæsteð scipu mid scealcum*.

**515 sīð nesan.** Translate 'At times it befalls us grievously on the waves, upon the sea, though we survive, pass through the terrible journey'. The evident parallel to this passage is *El* 1003-1004 *gif hīe brimnesen ond gesundne sīð settan mosten*, and on the strength of this passage Gn, *Spr* II, 446, and Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 11) would read here *sīðnesan*, as noun, object of *gefēran*. But the passage in *El* confessedly offers difficulties (cf *Bibl* II, 183) and should not carry too much weight in determining the construction in *Andreas*. The

unconstrained reading here is that which takes **nesan** and **gefēran** as coordinate verbs, in the optative mood Cf *Gen* 1341 þām þe mid sceolon mereflōd nesan 517<sup>b</sup> So *Gen* 1251, *Dan* 174, *Metr* xi, 25

519 **brūne** ȳða. Besides the passages in which it is descriptive of the waves, the adjective **brūn** is used of armor and weapons Note also **brūnwann**, 1306, and cf the ballad phrase 'wan water' It probably means merely 'dusky,' 'dark'

523 **wuldras fylde**. The genitive in *-as* is also found in l 1501, **heofonas**, for other examples, cf *Spr* I, 179, s v *cynning*, Napier, *Über die Werke des alieng Erzbischofs Wulfstan*, p 67, and Sievers, *Gram*, § 237, note 1 These *as* genitives in *Andreas* are to be regarded rather as late West Saxon forms than as survivals from an early Anglian original text The construction of *fyllan* followed by the genitive finds a parallel in *Chr* 408-409

forþon þū gefyldest, foldan ond rodras,  
wigendra Hlēo, wuldres þines

Cf also *El* 1134 wuldres gefylled The usual construction after *fyllan* is the accusative and instrumental (cf Shipley, p 33)

524 **beorhtne boldwelan** So *Jul* 503 and *Ap* 33

525 **þurh his ānes miht** Cf *Gen* 272, *Chr* 685 þurh his ānes cræft

528<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul* 262 — All Edd, except Grimm and Grein, put a period or semicolon after **þrymsittendes**

532 **ārȳða**. Cf l 383, note

535 **wuldres blæd**. Equivalent merely to 'heaven', cf l 356, note

541<sup>b</sup>. Cf *Beow* 954-955 *þæt þīn dōm lyfað āwa ið aldre*, of Beowulf, *Chr* 405 *ā þīn dōm wunaþ*, of the Lord, *El* 450-453 *ac þāra dōm leofað ðe þone anhangnan Cyning heriaþ ond lofað*

543<sup>a</sup> So 669<sup>a</sup>, *Az* 187 Cf *Ap* 15, *Ps* CIV, 6 *geweorðude ofer werþeōda*

544-548 Cf *Gu* 862 *nāenig hæleþa is þe areccan mæge oþþe rīm wite*, *Hy* III, 17-18 (*Bibl* II, 214)

ne magon hȳ nāfre areccan nē þæt gerīm wytan  
hū þū mære eart, muhtig drihten,

*El* 635 *Ic ne mæg areccan, nū ic þæt rīm ne can* Cf also *Jul* 313, *Chr*. 222, *Panther* 3

546 **ðætte** 'Of such sort that he,' etc Other examples are given in *Spr* II, 573

548 **dælest**. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263, calls attention to the omission of the subject after **hū**

552 **wīs on gewitte** Cf ll 316, 470, the model for the passage, however, was *Cræft* l 13 *wīs on gewitte oþþe on wordcwidum* In both passages Bright (*MLN* II, 81) takes **wīs** to be a noun, 'wisdom,' in the genitive case in *Cræft* 13, in the dative (apparently coordinate with **geofum**, l 551<sup>b</sup>) case in the passage in *Andreas*, the inflection *-e* in both passages he thinks has either been elided or carelessly dropped, or the construction has been misunderstood But a noun *wīs* = *wīsdōm* is not recorded, and in the light of the other occurrences of the phrase it seems best to regard it not as an amplification of **geofum**, but as an adj in the nom case, agreeing with **ðū**, 550 This is also Professor Bright's present



opinion Cf *Hol* 78 *wīs on bīnum gewitte ond on bīnum worde snottor*, of the angel Gabriel

553-554. Cf *Beow* 1842-1843

ne hȳrde ic snotorlicor  
on swā geongum fēore guman þingian,

and cf also ll 471 ff, 493 ff

556<sup>a</sup> Cf *Jul* 258 *frægn þā fromlice* — 556<sup>b</sup> So *Metr* XX, 275, cf *Rid* LXXXIV, 10, *ōr ond ende*, with the same meaning See *Rev* I, 8, 11, XXI, 6, XXII, 13

557. Cf *Rid* XXXIII, 13-14 *Rece, gif þū cunne, wīs worda glēaw*, *El* 856 *Saga, gif ðū cunne*

558<sup>b</sup> Cf *be* (bi) *sām twēonum*, *Beow* 858, 1297, 1685, *Ex* 442, 562, *Gu* 237, 1333

559 *Ǫā arlēasan* That is, *Judea cynn*, which is in apposition Cosijn's emendation, *Ǫæt arlēase*, does not improve the grammar and is bad stylistically

561 Grem and Wulker have only a comma after *hearmcwide*, but the other Edd a period

564. Cf *El* 865-866<sup>a</sup> *oððæt him gecȳðde cuning ælmihtig wundor for weorodum*, *Chr* 482 *weoredum cȳðað*

565<sup>a</sup> So *Men* 129, also referring to the miracles of the Lord The phrase is a favorite one with Wulfstan, cf Napier's ed, p 159, l 5 *swutol and gesȳne*, p 163, l 14 *swytol and gesȳne*, etc Cf also *Gen* 2806 *sweotol is ond gesēne*

567 Cf *Chr* 1196 *tō hlēo ond tō hrōber hæleþa cynne*, of Chrst

568<sup>b</sup>-569<sup>a</sup> See 1677<sup>b</sup>-1678<sup>a</sup>

569 So 650, 1678, *El* 334, *Gu* 1184

570 *dōmāgende*. Cf *Jul* 186 *folcāgende* — *dæl nænigne* Cf Bonnet, p 76, ll 17-18 *Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν ἀντ' ἃ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τὰχα οὐκ ἐποίησεν σημεῖα ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν*, the *frætre þeode* of l 571 are the Jews of the Greek version The reply which Andrew makes, l 573 ff, also demands *nænigne* in l 570

573 Cf l 137, *El* 643 *hū is þæt geworden on þysse werþeode*

575. *gif*. The word is regularly feminine, with accusative in *e* But an accusative plural *earðgyfu* occurs, *Ps* LXXI, 10, and a dative singular *mid þām godcundan gyfe* (Bede, ed Miller, p 34, l 17), both examples being pointed out by Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 252), from these two citations an acc sg *gif* may be inferred for the present passage Wulker cites the compounds *gifstol*, *gifheal*, *gifsceat*, in support of a nominative form *gief*, but such compounds prove nothing, since all *o* stems as first element in compounds end regularly with a consonant

576<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 811

577 ff See *Matt* XI, 5, *Luke* VII, 21-22

580 Cf *Ch* 1508 *wēрге wonhāle*

582. *on grundwæge*. The second element of the compound is not the word *wāg*, 'wall' (see 714, 732), as stated by Grimm, p 111, also *Spr* I, 531, and B-T, 492 It is a form of *weg*, 'way', for examples of *æ* for *e*, cf *-ræced*, 709, *sægl*, 1456 In *meðlan*, 1440, *e* appears for *æ* The word *grundweg*, which occurs only in this passage, is a compound like *eorðweg*, *foldweg*, *flōdweg*, *brimrād*,

etc, and takes its meaning from the first element Translate, therefore, 'the earth'  
See 206, note

583<sup>a</sup> Cf *El* 944-945 *seðe dēadīa feala worde āwehte*

585 Cf *El* 558 *cȳðdon cræftes muht*, *Chr* 1145 *cȳðde cræftes meht*  
See l 1460, note

586-588 See *John* II, 1-16 The Greek (Bonnet, p 78, l 2) reads merely *ὁ δὴ οὖρον μετέβαλεν* **Heremægen**, literally 'army troop,' appears to have weakened merely to the meaning 'throng', see Glossary for citations

587 **ond wendan hēt**. Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 12) would take **ond** as equivalent to a relative *ὅτι*, object of **hēt**, and he cites examples in which he regards *ond* as having the function of a relative But this use of *ond* is not established by his citations, nor is it necessary in the present passage

588 **on þā beteran gecynd**. A formula, cf *El* 1038, 1061, and *Wulfstan*, ed Napier, p 145 *uton wendan georne tō beteran cræfte*

589-594 See *Matt* XIV, 17 ff, *Mark* VI, 38 ff, *Luke* IX, 12 ff, *John* VI, 8 ff  
The poet was apparently not sufficiently familiar with the version of the story in *John* to recall that it is Andrew who is there said to have provided the loaves and fishes

591<sup>b</sup>. Cf *Beow* 1424 *fēba eal gesat*, of the followers of *Beowulf*

592. **rēonigmōde** Cf *Whale* 22-23 *hæleþ bēoþ on wynnum rēonigmōde*  
*ræste gelyste*, *Gu* 1069 *wæs him ræste nēod rēonigmōdum* The MS reading **reomigmode** is the only occurrence of a form *reomig* Grimm, p 112, followed by *Spr* II, 374, compares this form with Goth *rimis* 'quies', but Grimm refrains from a decision, noting that the context favors the reading **rēonig-**, 'weary' As Sievers points out (*PBB* X, 506) the correct reading here is undoubtedly **rēonigmōde**, both the metre and the sense of the passage demand this form

594 Cf 1484<sup>a</sup>, *Dan* 567 *man on moldan*, *Gu* 962 *mon on moldan*

595-596 Cf ll 811-812, *El* 511-512 *nū ðū meht gehȳran, hæleð mīn se lēofa, hū, etc*, *El* 523 *hyse lēofesta*

597 **spēon**. The other occurrences of *spanan* in the verse are all in the evil sense, 'entice, allure' (see *Spr* II, 467), but the word occurs frequently in homiletic or biblical prose (see B-T, p 898) in a good sense, as in the present passage

598<sup>a</sup> So 1693, *Gu* 1154, cf *Chr* 913 *on gefēan fæger, tō þām langan gefēan*, *Jul* 670, *Gu* 1063, 1281, in *þām ēcan gefēan*, *Gu* 1052, 1159, 1345, *tō þam sōþan gefēan*, *Gu* 1238

599<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr* 1247

600 Cf *Beow* 187 *æfter dēaðdæge Drihten sēcean*

601 **wēges weard**. Kemble translates correctly 'ruler of the wave', so also Root But *Spr* II, 655, and the other translations take **weges** as derived from *weg*, 'way' Cf l 632

602<sup>b</sup> So *Gu* 998, *Ph* 550, *El* 1072

605 Cf *El* 817 *þāra þe ic gefremede nalles fēam sīðum*, *Jul* 354 *þāra þe ic fremede nalles fēam sīþum*.

606 **folcum tō frōfre**. So *El* 1142, *Chr* 1422, *Beow* 14 *folce tō frōfre*

611 **þurh dēopne gedwolan**. So *Jul* 301 The Edd put no punctuation after *gedwolan*, and a strong pause after *lārūm*, but **dēofles lārūm** and **wrāðum wærlogan** should be held together Cf l 679

613<sup>a</sup> Cf 1297, *Wid* 9 wrāþes wārlogan — sēo wyrd Hall, p 82, 'The original has **Wyrd**, she, in the religion of our forefathers before their conversion to Christianity, was the goddess of destiny, and presided over the fates of men and of gods She, of course, still rules the affairs of these unconverted cannibals' A similar use of the word is found in l 1561, also of the Mermedonians See Golther, *Handbuch der german Mythologie*, pp 104-105, Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p 372, for a discussion of the meaning of the term *wyrd* and its occurrences in the literature of the Germanic peoples

The word in its later development has had an interesting history 'Aus dem Schottischen wohl ist *weird* ins Neuenglische gedrungen Chaucer kennt zwar *werdes*, *wierdes* neben *windes* (vgl Skeats Glossar), also Formen mit kentschem *e* für *y*, aber das wort scheint bald nach ihm ausgestorben zu sein Denn in Holinsheds Bericht uber Macbeth ubernimmt er aus Bellenden den schottischen Ausdruck *wend sisters*, der schon bei Wyntoun (ed Laing, VIII, 1864) und bei Douglas (II, 142/24) vorkommt, in der schottischen Schreibung *weird*, und findet es notig, ihn durch den Zusatz zu erklären "that is (as ye would say), the goddesses of destinie" (vgl Delius' Shakespeare, II, 300) Aus Holinshed hat Shakespeare das Wort ubernommen, aber den Druckern der Folios war es offenbar fremd, denn sie setzten dafür *weyward* Erst Theobald stellte auf Grund des Berichtes Holinsheds die Lesung *weird* her, und erst von da aus scheint der Ausdruck wieder in weiteren Gebrauch gekommen zu sein, aber ohne das Zeichen seines Ursprungs, die schottische Schreibung mit *er*, aufzugeben' Luick, *Studien zur Englischen Lautgeschichte*, pp 185-186 (*Wiener Beitrage zur Englischen Philologie* XVII)

615 **wērige mid wērigum** Cf l 360, note

616 **biterne** Professor Hart suggests **bitterne**, so also Sievers (*PBB* X, 496) But cf *Chr* 765 **biterne stræl**

619<sup>b</sup> Cf 1086, *Gen* 1669 **folces ræsuan**

620 **wundor æfter wundre** So *Beow* 931 Greim and Wulker have no punctuation after **gesiehðe**, all other Edd a period

622 **folcrað fremede**. Cf *Beow* 3006 **folcrað fremede**, of *Beowulf* — **tō friðe hogode** Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 12) suggests **tō frioðe hogode**

625 **māga mōde rōf**. So 984 — **mægen**. 'Miracles' Cf *Legend*, p 117, ll 15-16 **spēc tō þinum discipulum be þām mægenum þe þin Lārēow dyde** Other examples are noted by B-T, p 655, but the above have escaped him Cf Bonnet, p 77, ll 13-14 **ποῖαλ εἰσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἃς ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ κρητῷ, φανέρωσόν μοι αὐτάς** The word in the Latin original which is translated here **mægen** was undoubtedly 'virtus', cf *Matt* VII, 22, 'in nomine tuo, virtutes multas fecimus,' and for other examples see *Mark* VI, 2, 5, *Acts* VIII, 13, *Matt* XI, 20

626 **dēormōd on dīgle** Cf *Gu* 925 **dēormōd on dēgle**, of Guthlac in his retreat

627 **besæton**. The subject is omitted after **ðā**, 'when' 'when often ye held council with the Lord' See Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 264

630<sup>a</sup> So 1200, *Chr* 509 — **gehwære** Sievers (*PBB* X, 485) would regularly replace *gehwære* by the earlier forms *gehwæs*, *gehwam*, see also *Gram*, § 341, note 4

631 **purh snyttra cræft.** Cf *El* 1171 *nū þē* God sealde sǣwle sigespēd ond snytiro cræft, and cf the compound *snytruciæft*, *Spr* II, 460

635 **wynnum wrīdað** Cf *Ph* 237 *wīdaþ* on wynnum For the quantity of *wrīdað*, see *Gram*, § 382 For the relation of *wrīdan* to *wrīðan* and *wīðian*, cf *Cosijn*, *PBB* XXI, 12

636 **æðelum ēcne** So also l 882 **Ēcne** means 'endowed,' 'teeming', cf *iððacan*, *ēcan*, etc The usual form of the adjective is *ēacen*, but cf *Chr* 1045 *on ēcne ear d*, and see Cook's note **Æðelum** is inst pl, cf *æðelum dēore*, *Dan* 193, *Ex* 186, *Beow* 1949, *æðelum gōd*, *Beow* 1870

639<sup>b</sup> Cf 815<sup>b</sup>

640 **godbearn on grundum** So *Chr* 682, godbearn of grundum, *Chr* 499, *sīððan* of grundum godbearn *āstāg*, *Chr* 702 — **hweorfon** See 1050, and 51, note Wulker calls attention to *Dan* 267, *hweorfon*, and *Sat* 341, *hweorfan*, both preterits

641. Cf 809, *Ap* 32, 77<sup>a</sup>, *Jud* 350 *swegles drēamas*

642<sup>b</sup>. So 1476<sup>b</sup>, *Gu* 898

645<sup>a</sup> So *El* 357, 1190

646<sup>a</sup> Cf 909, 1435, *El* 1170–1171 (above, 631, note)

647<sup>a</sup>. So *Gen* 14

649<sup>a</sup> **oor ond ende.** Cf 556<sup>b</sup>, note Vowels are geminated to indicate length also in *faa*, 1593, 1599, and *taan*, 1099

650. **on wera gemōte.** But the Greek (Bonnet, p 78, l 9) reads *ἐν τῷ κρηττῷ*, the exact opposite of the Anglo Saxon

652–653 **sīde herigeas folc unsmāte.** So *Men* 5<sup>b</sup>–6<sup>a</sup>

652–660 There is nothing in the Greek version corresponding to these lines After the response of Andrew, 648–651, the Greek passes on to the account of the Twelve Apostles in the temple, 661 ff The passage appears to be an invention of the poet's, based upon such allusions in the New Testament as *Matt* IX, 35–36 The verses immediately following these give an account of the Twelve Apostles (*Matt* X, 1–5) The phrase **in bold oðer**, 656, is not specific but is an allusion to the Lord's method of preaching from house to house

654 Cf *Gu* 979 *wolde hyrcnigan hālges lāra*

659. **symble.** *Spr* II, 518, glosses as adv, but *Gn*<sup>2</sup> would change to *symbol*, 'festivitas' But it is plainly adverb here

661. **sīgedēma.** The only other occurrence of the word is *Chr* 1060

664. **ellefne.** Kluge (*PBB* VI, 397) remarks that this is the only occurrence of the numeral *ellefne* in Anglo-Saxon verse The metrical stress here falls upon the first syllable of the word, but the modern accentuation and the phonetic history of the word, *ellefne* < *andleofan*, would indicate that the first syllable was normally unstressed

665<sup>a</sup> Cf 883, *Ex* 232 *x hund geteled tīrēadigra*

667. **tempel Dryhtnes.** The Greek reads (Bonnet, p 78, l 10) *εἰς λεπὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν*, i e into a temple of the Gentiles Apparently the Anglo-Saxon poet has in mind the Hebrew temple at Jerusalem

668. **hēah ond horngēap.** The half-line, and the description in general, is taken from *Beow* 82, where it applies to the great hall, Heort The word *horn*,

'gable,' 'pinnacle,' is several times used in descriptive names of buildings, see **hornsæl**, 1158, also *horngeðstæon*, *Ruon* 23, *hornreced*, *Beow* 704, B-T, p 553, cites *ofer hornþic temples*, 'supra pinnam templi,' *Luke* IV, 9 The compound here probably means 'wide gabled', see Miller, *Angha* XII, 397 But Grein, *Dicht*, translates 'an Zinnen reich', *Spr* II, 98, *pinnaculus prominens* The meaning 'prominent, high' for **gēap** is supported by *Sal* 510-511 *munt is hine ymbutan, gēap gylden weal*, see further B-T, p 366

669 **huseworde** The only occurrence of the compound, translate 'with mocking word' *Husc*, *hucs* as simplex, meaning 'scorn, mockery,' occurs several times Grein, *Spr* II, 112, suggests *us worde?* for *huseworde*, cf Trautmann's emendation in the variant readings But the MS reading fits the context admirably Kemble has only a comma after **gewlittegod**

670 **ealdorsācerd**. Professor Hart calls my attention to the fact that this compound, of which Grein and B-T record but this single occurrence, occurs frequently in the Northumbrian Gospels For examples, see Cook, *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, s v *aldorsacerd*, p 9

671 **herme hyspan**. Cf *Chr* 1120 *hysptun hearmcwidum*

672 **wrōht webbade**. Cf *El* 308 *inwitþancum wrōht webbedan*

680 **ēadiges orhlytte æðeling cýðað**. The nom pl **orhlytte** refers back to the idea contained in **earme**, 676, and in the two following lines The special Teutonic color in this passage is the addition of the poet, the Greek text says merely 'O wretches, why do you walk with him who says, I am the son of God?' (Bonnet, p 78, l 12 ff) The idea contained in 'son of God' is amplified by the poet in that it is made political **Æðeling**, 680, is the technical word for the son of a king and is so used regularly throughout the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, **ellþeodiges**, 678, means 'a stranger,' 'an unlineal claimant,' and **būtan lēodrihte**, 679, 'contrary to the accepted custom of the people' Gm and B have no punctuation after **hýrað**, 679, and a comma after **orhlytte**, 680

683. Cf *Wid* 4<sup>b</sup>-5 *him from Myrgingum æðelo onwōcon*

684 **on þysse folcsceare** So *El* 402, *Gen* 2680, 2829

686 **hāmsittende**. The compound occurs also in *Gen* 1815, *Dan* 687

688<sup>a</sup> So *El* 381, *Whale* 3

691. **sunā Iōsēphes**. Cf Bonnet, p 78, l 15 *ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκρονος* Did the *τοῦ τέκρονος* seem too irreverent to the poet? See *Mark* VI, 3

693 **dugeð dōmgeorne**. So l 878, *El* 1290, a dignified phrase, and in *Elene* applied to the righteous at the day of judgment In *Andreas*, however, with epic freedom, it refers to the wicked persecutors of the Lord The word **dugeð** is not usually plural, but is so in the above three passages and in *Ex* 546

695<sup>a</sup> So also *Jul* 506

696 **þegna hēape**. Cf *Beow* 1627 *ðryðlic þegna hēap*, *El* 549 *þā cwōm þegna hēap*; cf l 870, *Ap* 9 See *NED*, 'forlorn hope'

696-705. In the Greek (Walker, p 354) 'And Jesus, having known that our hearts were giving way, took us into a desert place, and did great miracles before us, and displayed to us all his Godhead And we spoke to the chief priests, saying, Come ye also, and see, for, behold, he has persuaded us'

698. **digol land**. So *Beow* 1357, of the dwelling place of Grendel

700. **cræfta**. Appositive to **wundra**, 699

706-707<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 920<sup>b</sup>-922 swylce self cynyng, of brýðbúre bēahhorda weard tryddode tirstæst getrume micle

707 **getrume mycle**. The Greek version is specific *τριάκοντα ἄνδρες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τέσσαρες ἀρχιερεῖς* (Bonnet, p 79, l 10)

711 **tō sēgon**. The alliteration is on **tō**, which must consequently be taken as adverb, not as the unstressed element of a verb compound

712 **wundor āgræfene** **Wundor** is acc pl, appositive to **anlicnesse**, 713, cf **wundor**, 736 There is no necessity, therefore, for the compound **wundor-āgræfene**, 'wondrously carved,' of *Spr* II, 752, and the translations, or for Cosijn's emendation, **wundrum** (*PBB* XXI, 12)

In the Greek version, these **wundor āgræfene** are not the cherubim and seraphim, but two sphinxes *εἶδεν γλυφὰς σφίγγας δύο, μίαν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ μίαν ἐξ εὐωνύμων* (Bonnet, p 79, ll 11-12) Since the whole episode is omitted in the *Legend* it is impossible to tell what the reading of the Latin original of the poem was The Greek version, however, compares the two sphinxes to the cherubim and the seraphim *ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμοίᾳ εἰσιν τοῦ χερουβίμ καὶ τοῦ σεραφίμ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ* (Bonnet, p 79, l 14-15) Probably only the allusion to the cherubim and seraphim was taken over into the Latin version

717-719 Translate 'This is a representation of the most illustrious of the tribes of angels which is in that city [i.e. heaven] among the dwellers there' There is nothing in the *Πράξεις* corresponding to this statement that the cherubim and seraphim are the highest of the angels, or to the further description of the cherubim and seraphim, ll 719-724 The grouping of the seraphim and cherubim together is not derived from the Bible, as the seraphim are mentioned only once there (*Isaiah* VI, 7) and then not in connection with the cherubim The two names, however, were early associated in Hebrew tradition, the *Book of Enoch*, for example, groups 'the seraphim, the cherubim, and ophanim, and all the angels of power' as the highest of the hosts of heaven See Ryle, s.v. 'cherub,' in Hastings, *Dict of the Bible* (New York, 1901) Cf also Dionysius the Areopagite (4th century), who groups the seraphim, cherubim, and thrones as the highest of the heavenly hierarchies, see *NED*, s.v. 'cherub' Note also the *Te Deum* 'Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant' These allusions are all closely related to *Isaiah* VI, 1-3, a vision of the Lord in his glory Interesting paraphrases of these verses, closer to the original than the passage in *Andreas*, are to be found in *EI* 739-749 and *Chr* 385-415

721. So *Ph* 600, cf fore onsýne ēces dēman, *EI* 745, *Gu* 1161, *Chr* 837

725<sup>a</sup> **hīw**. The meaning here is 'countenance,' 'appearance,' not as Grumm, p 114, translates, 'familia,' as in *hīwræden*, *hīred*, etc — 725<sup>b</sup> So *Gen* 247

726<sup>b</sup> So 1026<sup>b</sup>, *Ap* 87 'The thanes, angels, in heaven' For this meaning of **wuldor**, cf l 356, note With **þegnas**, cf. *Chr* 283 *Cristes þegnas*, 'angels', *Gen* 15 þegnas þrymfæste = engla þrēatas Holthausen, *PBB* XVI, 550, emends **þegnas** to **þegna** in order to make it synonymous with **hālgra**, l 725, but **þegnas** may as well be taken as appositive to **hīw**

728 fore **þām heremægene**. See l 707, note The phrase occurs again ll 1298, 1650, *EI* 170.

730 on *wera gemange* Simons, p 57, would read *wera on gemange* Cf *Jul* 528 *magum in gemonge*, *Beow* 1643 *mōdig on gemonge* The more usual construction, however, is prep + gen + acc, e.g. *El* 96 on *clænra gemang*, *El* 108 on *fēonda gemang*, *El* 118 on *gramra gemang*, *Jul* 420 on *clænra gemong*

732 *wlitig of wāge* Cf *Beow* 1662 *ic on wāge geseah wlitig hangian*, *Rid* XV, 12 *wlitig on wāge*

733-734 Kemble and Baskervill put a semicolon after *sōðcwīdum*, Grimm a comma, but Wulker's punctuation, which I have followed in the text, gives undoubtedly the best reading The alliteration *s sc*, which led Grein (see variants) to suppose that the text was corrupt here, is not in accordance with the use of the best early verse, but it is found more or less frequently in the later verse, see Sievers, *Altgerm. Metrik*, § 18, 3, Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, I, 50

734<sup>b</sup> Cf *Jul* 286 *hwæt his æpelu sȳn* Like *bat* and *bis* (see ll 7, 24S, 717, 751, 906, 1199), *hwæt* is often used without agreement in gender or number Cf German *es sind*, MnE 'there is, there are'

735-737 *dorste, āhlēop, hē* The number changes from the plural (*syndon*, 720, *standað*, *hergað*, 722, *þegnas*, 726) to the singular here In this the poem probably followed its source, as in the *Πρόξεις* only one of the sphinxes (whose place is taken here by the cherubim and seraphim, see 712, note) is represented as acting 'Then Jesus, having looked to the right, where the sphinx was, said to it, I say unto thee, thou image of that which is in heaven, which the hands of craftsmen have sculptured, be separated from thy place, and come down, and answer and convict the chief priests, and show them whether I am God or man' Walker, p 354

736<sup>a</sup> So *El* 866, cf l 564, note *Wundor* is subject of *dorste*, cf l 712

737 *frōd fyrngeweore* So *Ph* 84, of the grove in which the Phoenix dwelt The antecedent of *hē* should be, grammatically, *fyrngeweore*, but the poet makes the pronoun masculine by personification

739 Kemble and Baskervill put a semicolon after *dynede*

740-741 Grein and Wulker enclose *wrætlic ongin* within parentheses, the other Edd set off the clause by commas or periods

742 *septe sācerdas*. Cf *El* 528-530

ðus mec fæder mīn on fyrndagum  
umweaxenne wordum lærde,  
septe sōðcwīdum

Also *Dan* 445-446

Hyssas heredon drihten for þām hǣðenan folce,  
Septon [MS stepton] hie sōðcwīdum

Grimm's *sewan*, accepted by Grein, *Spr* II, 433, we may safely disregard, the stem-consonant of the word is fixed by the three passages as *þ* The meaning also, 'instruct,' 'teach,' is the appropriate meaning in all three passages But the form and derivation of the word are not certain Zupitza, *Elene*, p 73, glosses as *seþpan* or *sēþan?*, B-T as *sēþan* (*seþpan?*), Simons, as Zupitza, Sweet, *Dict* does not record the word Baskervill, p 76, gives the form as *seþpan* — 'a denominative verb, akin to *sæþ*, root \*sapa, Goth \*sapjan, OHG *sewen*, *seppen*, MHG

seben, "wahrnehmen" Kluge, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch* 5, s v *saft*, thinks an ultimate connection of the above words with Latin *sapio* is probable. B T, p 866, gives the same explanation of the word as Baskervill Swaen, *Eng. Stud.* XX, 149, brings Goth *siponeis*, *siponjan*, into the discussion. 'Sepan, I think, can neither be proved nor defended. *Seppan* might be explained, while sticking to the stem to which I have tried to reduce the word, by adopting a prehistoric Anglo-Saxon \**seppan*, by which form the transitive meaning of *septe*, in contradistinction to the intransitive of *siponjan* = "schuler sein," might be explained.' Swaen's explanation seems the most probable.

743 **witig werede.** 'It [1 e stān], sagacious, held them in check.' Cosijn's emendation *wenede* is based upon l 1682, but the reading of the MS is supported by l 1053, **wordum werede**

744 **earmra gepohta.** Perhaps it is best to take the genitive as dependent on **searowum** 'Ye are wretched, deceived by the snares of your (own) miserable thoughts.' **Earmra gepohta** would thus be parallel to **mōde gemyrde**, 746. *Dicht* translates 'Ihī seid unselig, elende Gedanken', K, 'ye are rude of poor thoughts.'

746. **mōde gemyrde.** Cf *Jul* 412 *mōd gemyred*, *Chr* 1143 *egsan myrde* — **gē mon cīgað.** Cosijn's admirable emendation is supported by the reading of the Greek version, Bonnet, p 80, l 9 *λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων*

747<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 744

748<sup>b</sup> So *As* 141<sup>b</sup> Final **h** is also lost in **faa**, 1593, 1599

750<sup>b</sup> So *Gen* 1040, *El* 729

752 The whole line occurs *El* 398

755 Cf *Jul* 76 *welum weorþian*, **wordum lofian**

756 **Hābrahāme.** Although this name occurs three times with initial *H*, 756, 779, 793, and only once without it, 753, the alliteration is always vocalic

757 This allusion is not in the Greek version. See *Gen* XXII, 17-18, *Matt* I

759 **open, orgete.** So *Chr* 1116

761-762 Bourauei, p 79, sees in these lines a recollection of *Æneid* II, 1. See l 1125, note. But a similar situation here is naturally expressed in similar terms

764<sup>b</sup> Grein encloses the half-line in parentheses, the other Edd set it off only by commas. In its stylistic effect the sentence is parenthetical and exclamatory, see my study of 'The Parenthetical Exclamation in Old English Poetry,' *MLN* XX, 33-37

765-766 **drȳcræftum, scingelācum.** On the element **drȳ-** in **drȳcræftum**, cf l 34, note. Both words, **scingelācum** and **drȳcræftum**, have evil connotation. Cf Wulfstan, ed Napier, p 101 *þonne se dēofol cymð þe āna cann eall þæt yfel and ealle þā drȳcræftas, þe æfre ænig man æfre geleornode*, and for the meaning of *scin*, cf *Whale* 31-32

swā bið scinna þēaw,  
dēofa wīse, þæt hī drohtende  
burh dyrne meahht duguðe beswīcað

For the quantity of *scin*(*n*), cf Sievers, *Eng. Stud.* VIII, 157. Cf *Jul* 301, *sagðt hȳ drȳas waron*, the devil's charge against *Cristes begnas*, l 299



769 **wēoll on gewitte**. Cf *Beow* 2882 wēoll of gewitte, *Mets* VIII, 45 ac hit on witte weallende byrnð, *Ph* 191 þurh gewittes wylm Sieveis, *Angha* I, 579, calls attention to this as a set poetical phrase Cf also *Beow* 2331 brēost innan wēoll, and *An* 1019, 1709 Wyrnum āweallen, *Chr* 625, has reference to the body after death — **weorm blædum fæg** Grein, *Dicht*, 'der Wurm dem Glucke feind' The figure appears to be original with the poet Did he have in mind the fire drake (cf **brandhāta**, l 768) of the *Beowulf*? The form **weorm** for *wurm*, *wyrm*, is exceptional, cf *Gram*, § 72, note, and *Ap* 95 Final **g** for **h** occurs also in **befealg**, 1326, and in **feorg**, *Ap* 58, **þurg**, *Ap* 13, 63, 72, cf *Gram*, § 223, note 1, and see above, l 107, note

770 **ælfæle** For **æl-** = *eal-*, cf **ælmihgtig**, **Ælmyrcan**, **ælwihite**, etc Cf *Rid* XXIV, 9 ealfelo attol — **orcneawe** Cf *El* 229 *Dā wæs orcnæwe idese stōfæt*

776<sup>a</sup> **grēne grundas** Cf l 798, note — 776<sup>b</sup> So *Gu* 133, 696, *Chr* 1670

777 **lārum lādan**. It seems best to take **lārum** as an instrumental adverb, 'according to instructions' Kemble translates 'in doctrines to lead', Hall, 'with their blest lore bear' *Gn*, *Duht*, and Root have nothing corresponding to **lārum lādan**

778 Kemble has a semicolon after **worde**

781<sup>b</sup> Cf *Gu* 1073 *ēce ælmihgtig ærist gefremede* ðā hē of dēaðe ārās, *Ph* 495 *þonne æriste ealle gefremmaþ men on moldan*

784 **frōde fyrnweotan**. Cf *Beow* 2123 *fiōðan fyrnwotan*, of *Æschere*, *El* 343 *frōd fyrnweota*, of David

788<sup>a</sup> So *El* 233 — **Mambre**. See *Introd*, p lviii

789<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 701, 904, *Rid* XXXV, 9

792<sup>a</sup> So also *Jul* 582

795 **snēome of slæpe þæm fæstan** Cf *Chr* 888-889 *hātað h̄y upp āstandan snēome of slæpe þ̄y fæstan* The allusion in the *Christ* is to the day of judgment Cf 792 with *Chr* 888 Cf also *Panther*, 40-42 *þonne ellenrōf ūp āstondeð snēome of slæpe*

795-796 Note the expanded lines here Grein and Baskervill have only a comma after **fæstan**

797. Cf *Cædmon's Hymn* 7-9 *þā middangeard monncynnes weard, ēce drihten aēfter tēode firum foldan, frēa ælmihgtig*

798 Cf *Chr* 1129 *eorþan ealgrēne ond ūprodor*, see l 776

799 **hwær** Probably the word should be **hwæt**, cf l 262, note, especially *Chr* 574 Hall's translation is hardly allowable 'and where the Lord God lived who laid their foundations'

800 Cf *Chr* 343 *þæt hē ūs ne lāete leng owhite*

801-802 Again two expanded lines Cf 795-796

802 **forlātan**. The spelling **æ** appears for **ē** also in **mæðelhægende**, l 609 **Forlātan** is a preterit, **wungean** an infinitive dependent on it

803 **ædre gecyðan**. So *Beow* 354

805 So also *Jul* 268, *El* 57, 1128

806 Cf l 55, *Jul* 153 *ac ic weorðige wuldres ealdor*

807<sup>b</sup> Also *Jul* 66.

808<sup>a</sup> So *Gu* 1091, with the same meaning

810 **willum nēotan** Shipley, p 50, translates ll 809-810 'to seek in peace the joys of heaven and there forever blissfully enjoy them' The MS has not *bær*, however, in 810, but **þæs**, as in *Chr* 1341-1343

hāteð h̄ gesunde ond gesēnade  
on ēþel faran engla drēames,  
ond þæs tō wīdan fēore willum nēotan

Cook, *Christ*, p 207, suggests reading *bær* in *Chr* 1343 for **þæs**, as in *An* 810, following Wulker's reading But the two passages support each other in the retention of **þæs** The antecedent of **þæs** in *An* 810 is contained in *swegles*, 809, 'heaven' Grein, *Spr* II, 292, cites this passage, **willum nēotan**, as a sole example of **nēotan** followed by the instrumental But **willum** is inst adv, not object of **nēotan** Cf also *Gu* 1347-1348 **willum nēotan blādes ond blissa**

814<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 1188

816 **ðā ðū āræfnan ne miht.** See *John* XVI, 12

818<sup>b</sup> So 1274<sup>b</sup>, *Beow* 2115, *Gu* 1251 Cf l 1254<sup>b</sup>, note

819 **herede.** 'Thus Andreas the entire day praised (or glorified) the teachings of the Holy One' The reproduction of the MS might be read here easily **herede** or **berede** Wulker reads **berede**, which he derives from *beran*, 'darlegen,' 'an den tag legen' In support of this word he cites *Dan* 142 þā þe mē for werode wīsdōm bereð But the parallel is a very doubtful one, and Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 13), citing *Dan* 121, would read *berað* in *Dan* 142, from infn *beran* Baskervill, p 76, agrees with Wulker '*beran* (a denominative from *bær*) means literally "to make bare", cf *bencþelu beredon*, *Beow* 1240' Against this interpretation, however, is the use in 873, 998, and especially the invariable rule that demands double alliteration when the second foot of the half-line contains two full stresses (that is, the D type of verse, Sievers, *PBB* X, 304)

820 The disciples are already asleep, see l 464

823<sup>a</sup> Cf *Rid* III, 2 under *ȳþa geþræc*, *Rid* XXIII, 7 *atol ȳþa geþræc* Cf 352<sup>a</sup>

824<sup>b</sup> Cf *Men* 39, 217, *Gu* 662 on Godes wære, *Beow* 27 on Frēan wære, *Beow* 3109 on ȳæs Waldendes wære

826 'Until sleep overcame them, weary of the sea' But we are told in 820 that Andrew is asleep, and were told in 464 that the disciples are asleep Apparently this line, almost a repetition of 820, should state again that the disciples have fallen asleep If so, something seems to be omitted Perhaps we should read *sæwērigne*, to agree with *lēofne*, 825<sup>a</sup>

828 ff That practically nothing of the narrative is lost here may be seen from the corresponding passage of the Greek version 'And Jesus said to his angels Spread your hands under him, and carry Andrew and his disciples, and go and put them outside of the city of the man eaters, and having laid them on the ground, return to me And the angels did as Jesus commanded them, and the angels returned to Jesus and He went up into the heavens with his angels' (Walker, p 356) Baskervill, p 76, attempting to arrange the passage as it is preserved in the MS, would translate as follows 'Through motion through the air he came

into the land, to the city, from which then the king of the angels arose to go away from him in blessedness on the upway, to visit his native seat'—a translation which satisfies neither the demands of the text nor the sense of the passage

In order to keep the same line numbering as Grimm and Wulker, the hypothetical missing line is disregarded in the numbering

830<sup>b</sup> So *Chr* 741

832<sup>b</sup> So *Chr* 606, *El* 507, *Ph* 374

834 **his nīðhetum** Grein, *Dicht*, 'vor dem Burgwalle in der Nahe seiner Feinde', but apparently **nēh** must apply both to **burhwealle** and **nīðhetum**, as translated by Hall, 'near the wall of the borough, near his fierce enemies' Cf the construction with **cunnian**, 125-133, note — **nūhtlangne fyrst** So l 1309, *Beow* 528, *El* 67, *Ex* 208

835 **dægandelle**. See 372, note

836 Cf *Gu* 1262 **scān scīrwered**, **scadu sweþredon**, *Ex* 113 **scædo swiðredon**

837 **wonn under wolcnum**. So *Beow* 651, *Gu* 1254, *Vision of the Cross* 55 'Wann, dark, dusky, is also a favorite word, being found thirty seven times [in Anglo-Saxon verse] Unlike *sweart* it is commonly used in a literal sense It is thus applied to a variety of objects, — to the raven, to the dark waves, to the gloomy heights overlooking the sea, to the murky night, to the dark armor, etc' Mead, "Color in OE Poetry," *Pub of MLA* XIV, 187 — **wederes blæst** There are two words of the form **blæst** (1) as in *Ex* 290 **bæþweges blæst**, 'the sea blast or breeze,' cf *blāwan*, 'blow', (2) the word in the present passage, which appears also in l 1552, cognate with *blæse*, 'torch,' 'fire,' 'flame' Cf *fþes blæst*, *Ph* 15, *līges blæst*, *Ph* 434 For the meaning of **wederes**, cf 372, 1697, note Kemble mistranslates, 'then came the storm-blast', but Root, correctly, 'then the torch of heaven'

840<sup>b</sup> So l 1306, *Beow* 222, of the sea-headlands

841 **ymbe hārne stān**. 'Seven times [in Anglo-Saxon verse] **hār** is applied to the hoary, gray stone, once to the gray cliff, four times to armor, once to a sword, once to the ocean, once to the gray heath, three times to the wolf, twice to the frost, and seven times to warriors, in each case with some touch of conventionality and with an apparently slight feeling for the color' Mead, *Pub of MLA* XIV, 190 Cf *Beow* 887, 2553, 2744 under **hārne stān**, *Beow* 1415 **ofer hārne stān**

842 **tigelfāgan trafu**. The word **tigel**, Lat *tegula*, was borrowed with the object from Latin civilization 'Tiles, mortar, and the like were unknown to the German, and he seems to have been long in learning to use actual timber Wattle work, twigs or flexible branches woven together, seemed to give enough stability for all his purposes, and even on the column of Marcus Aurelius what we may take to be contemporary German houses are "of cylindrical shape with round vaulted roof, no window, and rectangular door, they appear to be woven of rushes or twigs, and are bound about with cords" Tacitus says [*Germ* 16] the sole material for German houses of his time is wood' Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p 94 See Mullenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 286-287, and Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*<sup>3</sup>, pp 122-123, for a list and discussion of the

architectural terms taken over from the Mediterranean nations by the peoples of the North. The word *tigel* does not appear, however, to have the same poetic connotation as *sīān* in Anglo-Saxon verse. It is used in composition only in the present passage, and as simplex occurs only once, *Rum* 31 *tigelum scēadeð* *hiōstbēages hrōf* (MS 10f). See 1236, note.

843 *windige weallas*. So *Beow* 572, where the phrase applies more aptly to the sea headlands.

845<sup>a</sup> So *Beow* 1951, *Jul* 452, *Ap* 32, *sīðe gesēceð*, *Chr* 62, *sīþe gesēcan*, *Chr* 146, *sīðe gesōhton*, *Gen* 2425.

848<sup>a</sup> So *Ap* 78 — *bīryhte*. The second element of the compound has much the value of MnE 'right' in similar phrases. Cf Cosijn, *PBB* XXI, 13, '*bīryhte*, 1 e *ryhte bī*, "dicht bei," wie *atryhte*, nl *naby* und *bijna*, proparoxytonon *Ryhte*, "gerade," auch in *hærryhte*'. This is the only occurrence of the word.

850 *wīgend weccēan*. So *Beow* 3024.

852 *gystran-dæge*. The first element appears in the forms *gystran* and *gyrstan*, but never *gyrstran*. See the dictionaries, and Cosijn, *PBB* XXI, 13, for examples. — Cf *El* 1200 *ofer geofenes strēam*.

853 *ārweġlan*. See 383, note.

855 *waldend werðeode*. Grein's emendation *werðeoda* is supported by *Chr* 714 *waldend werþeoda*, and by the fact that the plural is generally used to indicate people, or nations in general, the singular, usually with a demonstrative, to indicate a specific nation. But the singular is also found in the general sense, cf *Met* IX, 21 *ofer weiþeode*, and *An* 573. The interpretation which retains the MS. reading as a verb is plainly impossible.

855-856 Cf Bonnet, p 85, ll 9-10 'Ἐπέγγων σου κῆριε τὴν καλὴν λαλιάν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφάνερωςάς μοι ἐαυτόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγνώρισά σε

859 ff Brooke, p 420, translating this passage, remarks 'And this poet [of the *Andreas*] who has a special turn for various incident, invents for them a dream in which they are brought into the heavenly Paradise'. But the whole episode is found in both the Greek version and the Latin fragment (Bonnet, p 86 ff). See *Introd*, p xxiii.

861<sup>a</sup> So *Hy* IV, 77, with other forms of the verb, *Jul* 181, *P* CXVIII, 152.

864 *feðerum hrēmige*. Cf *Ph* 86 *feðrum strong*, *Ph* 100 *feðrum wlonc*, *Ph* 123 *feðrum snell*. *Feðer*, 'feather,' by metonymy becomes 'wing' in the plural, the same development takes place in the Latin *penna*. Grimm, p 119, would read *feðerum hrēmig* (citing *El* 29), 'dew feathered', but the reading of the MS is better, 'exultant in their wings'. Cf l 1699.

866 *flyhte on lyfte*. So *Ph* 123, 340.

868<sup>a</sup> Cf *Met* XXVI, 63 *lissum lufode līðmonna frēan* — *in lofe wunedon*. Cf *Chr* 102-103 *in þām ūplican engla drēame mid Sōðfæder symle wunian*.

869 *swegles gong*. Literally, 'the circuit of the heavens,' cf ll 208, 455, and elsewhere the phrase occurs frequently. In the present context the phrase is inappropriate, Grein's *ond* and Cook's *geond* are inadequate attempts to bring it into agreement with the context. Simons, s v *gang*, suggests *swēges gong*. But the most probable explanation is that the words are taken bodily

from stock phraseology for the sake of the rime with **sang**, and are not perfectly fitted into their context Cf l 303, note

871<sup>a</sup> So *Ph* 164, of the Phoenix

873<sup>a</sup> So also l 998, *Jul* 560

874<sup>a</sup> So 1151<sup>a</sup>, *Whale* 84, *Chr* 405 — **drēam wæs on hyhte** Cf ll 239, 637 The phrasing is pleonastic, and one might prefer Simons' reading *hyhtē*, except that again (cf 869, note) the rime may have determined the use of **on hyhte**

876<sup>b</sup> So *El* 283

878 **þær wæs Dāud mid** Walker, p 357 'We beheld also Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the sants, and David praised Him with a song upon his harp'

879 **Essāges sunu**. The form of the name in the Vulgate is 'Isai,' cf *1 Samuel* (= *1 Kings*) XVI, passim For the development of the consonant between the two vowels, cf *Achaga*, *Ap* 16, *Gabriel*, *Chr* 201, *Ismahel*, *Gen* 2286 *Israhel* and similar forms occur frequently

882-885 Cosijn, *PBB* XXI, 13, would put a semicolon or a period after **standan**, l 882, and remove the punctuation after **hæleð**, l 883, thus making l 883 appositive to **þrymsittende** and **hēahenglas**. Stylistically, however, it is better to make l 883 refer back to **ēowic**, l 882, i.e. the Twelve Apostles, **tūrēadige hæleð** should also refer to the Apostles, cf l 2 The justification for his punctuation Cosijn finds in the Greek version, but it should be noticed that the number twelve is used first of the Apostles and then of the ministering angels *καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα ἐκεῖ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους παρεστηκότας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἔξωθεν ὑμῶν ἀγγέλους δώδεκα κυκλοῦντας ὑμᾶς* (Bonnet, p 86, ll 7-9) The Latin fragment is imperfect in the corresponding passage, but it evidently had the same readings

885 **Ōām bið hæleða well**. 'A well defined example of the demonstrative **sē** with genitive occurs in *An* 885 "Well is it for those of men who may enjoy those delights" Shipley, p 93 See 262, *Ap* 25

887 Cf *Jul* 641 **wigena wyn ond wuldres þrym**, *Gu* 1338 **winemæga wyn in wuldres þrym** The same assonance occurs in *Chr* 71, cf also 957-958, where it holds together halves of two different lines

891. **gangap**. Grein, *Spr* I, 368, glosses this word as singular and translates, *Dicht*, 'wenn er von hinnen geht' But the plural form of the MS agrees with the context, Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 274, points out that the subject is omitted after **þonne**

892 Cf *El* 874<sup>b</sup>-875 **þā ðær Iudas wæs on mōðsefan miclum gebliissod**.

895. **onnuman swā mycles**. Cf *Beow* 2640 **hē onnumde ūsic mærdā, onnuman**, 'to regard as worthy,' with accusative of person and genitive of the thing Cf Shipley, p 53

897. **God Dryhten**. See 494, note

899. Baskervill has a semicolon after **gestāh**

900 One expects an object for **ongitan**, l 901 **þēh ic þē on yðfare?** Cf l 922

904<sup>a</sup> An epic formula, cf *Wid* 9 **ongon þā wom sprecan**, *Beow* 530-531 **Hwæt þū wom fela ymb Brecan spræce**, *Beow* 3094 **worn eall gespræc**

906 **frōfre gāst.** So l 1684, *El* 1036, 1105, *Chr* 207, 728, *Jul* 724, *Jud* 83 The phrase is a translation of the N T *παράκλητος* (cf *John* XIV, 16, 26, XV, 26, XVI, 7), and is thus defined by Ælfric (*Homilies*, ed Thorpe, I, 322) *Hē is gehāten on Grēciscum gereorde ‘Paracletus,’ þæt is, ‘F1ōfoigāst,’ forðī ðe hē frē-frað þā drēoran, þe heora synna behiēowsiað, and sylð him foigfyfensse hiht, and heora unrōtan mōd gelifðegað* *John* XIV, 26, *Paracletus autem Spiritus sanctus*, is translated in the WS Gospels by *sē hāliga frōfrie gāst*, but in the other passages *Paracletus* is rendered by *Frefriend*, cf Cook's *Christ*, p 100, and Bright, *Gospel of St John*, p 160

907<sup>b</sup>-909 Cf ll 979<sup>b</sup>-980, 1153<sup>b</sup>-1154 The passage is plainly a reminiscence of homiletic phrasing

909 See 294, note, 1153, 1539, 1568, and, for other examples of *tō* with *sēcan*, see Eimenkel, *Streifzuge durch die mittlenglische Syntax*, p 202

910 Cf *Gu* 1028 *sippan hē mē fore ēagum onsȳne wearð* Grein, *Spr* II, 352, glosses only the form *onsȳn*, noun, but B-T, p 758, glosses correctly *onsȳn*, noun, and *onsȳne*, adj, cf *gesȳne*, l 526, etc The only occurrences of *onsȳne*, adj, are these two passages in the *Andreas* and the *Guthlac*

912 **þurh cnihtes hād** ‘In the form, character, of a boy’ Cf *Sat* 495 *þurh fæmnan hād*, *El* 72, *Ap* 27 on *weres hāde* Cf Bonnet, p 87 *uenit ad eum dominus Iesus Christus in effigia pulcerrimi pueri*

914<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 407 *Wes þū, Hroðgār, hāl* A regular formula of greeting, cf MnE *wassail* — **willgedryht.** Cf *willgeofa*, 62, 1282, *wilgesith*, *Beow* 23, *Gen* 2003, *wilboda*, *Gu* 1220, *wilgedryht* occurs also *Ph* 342

915 **ferðgefēonde** So 1584, *El* 174, 990

917 **grynsmiðas** The only occurrence of the compound For the meaning of the first element, cf *Beow* 930 *Fela ic lāðes gebād, grynnna æt Grendle* Cf l 86, note

926-935. The Lord's rebuke to Andrew is in the original, see *Introd*, p xxv

930 **þung gehēgan.** ‘Accomplish the meeting,’ i.e. the meeting with Matthew Cf 157, and *Ph* 493 *seonað gehēgan*

932 **wēga gewinn.** Grein first read **wēga gewinn**, but Gn<sup>2</sup> changes to **wega gewinn**, ‘labor viarum’ I find no parallel to **wega gewinn**, but with **wēga gewinn** cf l 197, and *Beow* 1469 under *ȳða gewinn* — 932<sup>b</sup> Cf *El* 945 *Wite ðū þē gearwor*, *Jul* 556 *wiste hē þī gearwor*

936 **ræð ædre ongit.** ‘Straightway learn my will’ Hall remarks, ‘This hemistich is a crux of the first water, it probably means, “Be not afraid, but maintain your composure”’ There is no difficulty in interpreting the passage if one takes **ræð** in the sense of ‘command,’ ‘counsel,’ ‘will,’ as in l 1498 The lines 939<sup>b</sup> ff then complete the meaning of this half line

938<sup>b</sup> So 1721<sup>b</sup>, *Gu* 608, *Chr* 1515, *Jud* 348, *Gen* 1015

939<sup>a</sup>. Cf *cræft ond miht*, *Dan* 328, *Az* 44, *Chr* 218

940<sup>a</sup>. So 1038, 1065, *Beow* 1928

942 **hēafodmāgan.** The MS reading is **-magū = -magum**, and is evidently due to inadvertence, the mistake might easily occur after **-dolgum** and preceding **-nettum**, MS **-nettū** The reading of Grimm, Kemble, and Grein (so also B T, p 514, Simons, p 74), **hēafodmāgan**, ‘cognatus principalis vel proximus’

looks back to l 940, **þīn brōðor** The form **hēafodmāga** does not occur, however, except in this emended passage, but *hēafodmæg* is found *Gen* 1200, 1605, and note especially *Beow* 588 þīnum brōðrum, hēafodmægum As simplex, *māga* is common, and cf *wuldormāga*, *Gu* 1067 If we read *hēafodmagu* with Baskervill and Wulker, the compound would mean 'leader, captain,' which neither describes the relation existing between Andrew and Matthew nor takes sufficient account of l 940<sup>b</sup> There is nothing in the Greek version corresponding to l 940<sup>b</sup>, or to **hēafodmāgan**, the *Legend*, p 119, says merely *tō Mathēum þīnum brēþer* For this passage Professor Hart suggests *hēafodmaga*, gen pl, appositive to **mænra**, l 941, but the word is somewhat too dignified to be used appropriately of the Mermedonians

946 **elþeodigra** A genitive dependent on **eal þæt mancynn**, 945

947 **gebundene**. According to strict law of concord the form should be **gebunden**, as Holthausen (see variants) suggests, agreeing with **mancynn**, l 945 But the plural idea of **elþeodigra** easily passes over into the word that follows it

948 See 356, note

949 **secgende wæs** This is the only example of the periphrastic historical preterit in *Andreas*, and, according to Pessels, *The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon*, p 50, the only other example in verse is *Beow* 1105, where, however, the verb is in the optative mood Apparently *Beow* 3028 *swā se secg hwata secgende wæs*, has escaped Pessels In prose the construction is frequent

950 **ēdre genēðan**. One expects *aldre genēðan*, as in l 1351, *Ap* 17, but cf *Ap* 50

952 **dæled**. The change to **dæled** is necessary unless one takes **dælan** as intransitive (cf l 5), **þīn hrā** being then the subject of **sceal dælan**.

954 **faran flōde blōd**. The construction is awkward and the statement a bit extravagant Should one read *faran on foldan blōd*? Cf Bonnet, p 88 *ita sanguis tuus fluent in terra sicut aqua*

956 **slege**. Grimm's reading *slage*, accepted also by Grein, is apparently in deference to the form **mānslaga**, l 1218 But **slege** is an authentic form, cf Glossary, and *Jul* 229 **slege þrowade**

957<sup>b</sup>-958<sup>a</sup> **þrym, -gewinn** See 887, note

962 **bennum**. The form **bennum** occurs twice in *Andreas*, the form **bendum** the same number of times Wulker, p 45, incorrectly ascribes the reading **bendum** to the MS in l 1038 Cf also *Dan* 435, *benne*, *Jul* 519, *bennum* The forms **bendum** and **bennum** are to be regarded as doublets and need not be changed all to **bendum** See Kluge, *Anglia* IV, 105-106, and Bright, *MLN* I, 10

963 **weras wansælige**. So *El* 478, 977, *Beow* 105 **wonsæli wer** (ie Grendel)

965 Grein and Wulker put a semicolon after **gecyðan**, the other Edd only a comma After **þehte**, l 966, Kemble puts a semicolon, the other Edd a comma Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 13) encloses **rōd wæs aræred** within parentheses, otherwise following Wulker's punctuation After **aræred** all Edd have a comma

966 **gealgan þehte**. So *Ap* 22 The word *gealga*, literally 'gallows,' is used in all the early Germanic dialects to indicate the cross on which Christ was crucified, cf Kluge, *Etym Wort*<sup>5</sup>, sv *galgen* So also the appropriate verb

which is used for 'crucify' in Anglo Saxon is *hōn, āhōn*, see *Ap* 41 Crucifixion does not appear to have been a method of punishment with which the early Germanic peoples were acquainted, hanging, however, was a familiar penalty 'The punishment of the gallows was widely used by our earliest ancestors, and finds a varied expression in the older literature, — chiefly in Scandinavian poetry It was by no means so ignoble an exit from life as it is now, and indicated no absolute disgrace like the vile indignities of the hurdle and the swamp The gallows did not mutilate a body, and its victim had, moreover, a chance to join the Wild Huntsman as he swept by, and so to storm the heights of Heaven and Val halla Nay, Odin himself, as he tells us in the *Hávamál*, "hung nine nights on the windy tree," that is upon the gallows, and whether or not this be a Norse version of the Crucifixion, the honorable association remains Later it was the prerogative of nobles to be beheaded, while common men were hanged, but the poet of *Beowulf* seems to indicate that if the old king, Hrethel, had punished Hæthcyn in the way of blood-feud for the innocent murder of the elder brother Herebeald, it would have been by the gallows The monarch cannot bring himself to it

Grievous it is for the gray-hair'd man  
To bide the sight that his son must ride  
Young on the gallows

ll 2444-2446

We may conclude that a gallows-destiny, while not yearned for, and far less noble than death by sword or spear, did not acquire its peculiar disgrace until the middle ages' Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp 240-241 See further Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, 1st series, pp 291-304, in his discussion of *Hávamál*

967<sup>a</sup> So *El* 886, cf *Chr* 1065-1066 ond sēo hēa rōd, ryht āræred, *Visson of the Cross*, 44 rōd wæs ic āræred

968-969<sup>a</sup> Cf *Chr* 1112 and of his sīdan swā some swāt forlētan, *Chr* 1449-1450<sup>a</sup> of mīnre sīdan swāt ūt gutun, drēor tō foldan, *Sat* 545<sup>b</sup>-546<sup>a</sup> þær hē his swāt forlēt feallon tō foldan See *John XIX*, 34

970<sup>a</sup> So *Gu* 905

971. þurh blīðne hige. 'With kindly intent'

972. This line is variously interpreted It seems best to take **on ellþeode** as meaning 'in this foreign land,' i e in Mermedonia, and **swā** as meaning 'how,' 'according as' Translate, accordingly, 'I wished therein with kindly intent to give to you an example according as it shall be shown [i e the example shall be realized] in this foreign land' Cf *Legend*, p 119, l 23 ac eall ic hit āræfnede þæt ic ēow ætēowe hwylce gemete gē sculon āræfnan Of the translators, only Kemble makes **on ellþeode** refer specifically to Mermedonia

975<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 1352, 1507

978<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 136, 215, 1681, *Jul* 289, *Hy* III, 22, cf also ll 874, 1192, and see Cook's *Christ*, p 133

979 **ēaðmēdum**. The word usually means 'humbly,' but translate here 'joyfully' (Grein, *Dicht*, 'mit Grossmut'); and cf *Gu*. 299 on elne ond on ēaðmēdum, and *Jud* 170 hie mæd ēaðmēdum in forlēton (Cook, *Judith* (1889), translates



'in lowly wise they let her in,' but the context shows that *mid eadmedum* means 'joyfully' — **þær is ar gelang** Cf *Jul* 645 þær is help gelang, *Seaf* 121 þær is lif gelang, *Chr* 152, 365 is seo bōt gelang eall æt þe See also Wulfstan, ed Napier, p 151 þonne ūs forlætað ealle ūre woruldfrynd, ne magun hī ūs þonne ænigum gōde, ac bið æt gode anum gelang eall hwæt wē gefaran sceolon See 907-909, note

980<sup>b</sup> So 1154<sup>b</sup>

982<sup>a</sup> **beaduwe heard** Cf *Beow* 1539 beadwe heard

985 Cf *Beow* 320 stræt wæs stānfah, stig wisode

986 Grein's reading **hine** for **him** should probably be accepted here, as there appears to be no reason why the dative should be used

988<sup>a</sup> So *Beow* 2786, *El* 1104, *Chr* 802, cf of *þām wangstede*, *El* 793, *Panther* 45

991<sup>a</sup> So *Gu* 124

992 **hlōð** The word may have here specific meaning Cf *Legal Code of Alfred*, ed Turk, p 114 ðeofas wē hātað oð VII men, from VII hlōð oð XXXV, siððan bið here

994<sup>b</sup> Cf *Jul* 675 swylt ealle fornōm, *Beow* 1436 þe hine swylt fornōm (of one of the water monsters), *El* 447 ær þec swylt nime Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*, pp 4-5, groups together a number of similar expressions, e.g. *Beow* 1205 hyne wyrd fornōm, *Beow* 1080 wīg ealle fornōm, *El* 131 sume wīg fornōm, etc, in all of which he sees personifications of Fate, or Wyrd But there is probably no conscious figure in the passages See 613<sup>b</sup>, note, 1531<sup>b</sup>, note

996 **heorodrēorige**. **Hæleð** must be plural, to agree with **dōmlēase**, l 995, and the number in l 994, and the more probable reading is that which holds **hæleð** and the adjective following it together, rather than the adjective and **ðeadræs**, 995 Grein, *Spr* II, 70, supposes an uninflected accusative plural, **-drēorig**

997 **bilwytne**. B-T, p 101, explains this word as follows 'bile, "the beak," *hwit*, "white," referring to the beaks of young birds, then to their nature', this remarkable explanation the dictionary ascribes to Junius. It has been frequently repeated, e.g. by Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Primer*, p 96 The *NED*, s.v. *blewhit*, states that the etymology is doubtful, but that the word is probably derived from 'Oteut \*bil-, cognate with OIr *bil*, "good," "mild," and found in OHG *billich*, Mod Ger *billig*, "just," "reasonable," + *wit*, giving the sense "mild of wit or mind" Cf Ger *bilwitz*, "a good friendly house spirit," Grimm, *Germ Myth* (ed 4), III, 137 (Eng ed II, 473), and *Billy-blind* The interpretation "white of bill" like a young bird (from OE *bile* + *hwit*) was current at an early date, as shown by 12th century spellings, cf French *bec-jaune*, Ger *gelb schnabel*, though these are deprecatory rather than laudatory, and it must be noted that the earlier spellings had not *hwit*, but *wite*' The word *Billy-blind* is found in ballads in the sense of a benevolent household spirit, cf Child, *English and Scottish Ballads* I, 67

999 **Godes dryhtendōm** The MS has **gōd**, but the quantity-mark is frequently found where the vowel is surely short, as e.g. l 1030<sup>b</sup>, where the MS has

**gōd**, but the context demands **god** Wulke inclines to the opinion that **gōd** must be taken as noun = *munificentia*, object of **herede**, 'ein begriff der zu **bilwytne fæder** ganz gut passen wurde' But stylistically this reading is very awkward, cf ll 722-724, in which the phrasing is exactly similar to the present passage **Dryhtendōm** as compound occurs only in the present passage, the formation, however, is normal, cf *dryhtenbealu*, *Gu* 1323

999<sup>b</sup>-1000 Kemble reads **dura**, translating 'Soon he attacked the door'  
Cf *Beow* 721-722

Duru sōna onarn  
fýrbendum fæst, syþðan hē hire folmum hrān

The *Legend*, p 120, ll 10-11, reads *Sē hālga Andrēas bā ēode tō þæs carcernes duru, and hē worhte Crīstes rōde tæcen, and raþe bā duna wæron outýnede*, agreeing with the Greek version, Walker, p 358, 'and he marked the gate with the sign of the cross, and it opened of its own accord'

1000 **hāliges gāstes**. The only other occurrence of **gāst** meaning a human being in *Andreas* is l 1621

1001<sup>b</sup> So 1263<sup>b</sup> Cf *Gu* 1268<sup>a</sup> **ēadig elnes gemyndig**

1002 **hæle hildedēor**. So *Beow* 1646, 1816, 3111, *El* 935 **hæleþ hildedēor Heaðudēon** occurs twice in the *Beowulf* — **hæðene swæfon**. *Swefan*, 'sleep the sleep of death', cf *Beow* 2060 æfter billes bite blōdfæg swefeð, so also *Beow* 2256, 2746, *Ex* 495 Cf also **sweordum āswebban**, l 72, **wæpnum āswebban**, *Aþ* 69

1003 **drēore druncne**. Cosijn would emend to **bēore druncne**, following *Beow* 480 and *Jul* 486, in both these passages, however, **bēore druncne** is in keeping with the context In the *Andreas* the context demands **drēore**, cf l 1003<sup>b</sup> and **neorodrēorig**, l 996

1005<sup>a</sup> So 1054<sup>a</sup>, *Chr* 534, *Gen* 1550, 1709, *Jud* 303

1008<sup>a</sup> Cf *El* 322 **gehðum gēomre**

1010<sup>b</sup> So *Chr* 529, *Gu* 926, *Vision of the Cross* 148, cf *Jud* 97-98 **þā wearð . hyht genīwod**

1012. Cf *Beow* 1626 **gode þancodon þæs þe hī hýne gesundne gesēon mōston**, *Beow* 1997 **gode ic þanc secge þæs ðe ic ðē gesundne gesēon mōste**, *Beow* 1874 **him wæs bēga wēn þæt hīe seoððan gesēon mōston** The construction in *Beow* 1874 is mentioned by Kluge, *PBB* IX, 190, and Bright, *MLN* II, 82, as affording proof of the use of **gesēon** as intransitive reflexive, Sievers, *PBB* IX, 140, overlooking the parallel between the passage in *Beowulf* and that in *Andreas*, suggests a number of textual emendations which a comparison of the passages shows to be unjustifiable Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 273, suggested that **hīe**, l 1012<sup>a</sup>, be taken as the object of **gesēon**, the subject being unexpressed, but, afterwards, *Anglia* XXIII, 299, inclines to accept **gesēon** as intransitive

1013 **syb wæs gemæne**. Cf *Beow* 1857 **sib gemæne**, *Chr* 581 **sib sceal gemæne**

1015<sup>b</sup> So *El* 1235 (of Christ upon the cross)

1016<sup>a</sup> Cf *Wand* 42 **clýppe and cýsse**, and, for frequent occurrences of the formula in later literature, see Fehr, *Die formelhafte Elemente in den alten englischen Balladen*, table XIII

1019<sup>a</sup> See 769, note

1023 ff The passage in the *Legend*, p 120, l 14 ff, corresponding to the omitted parts of the narrative here, is as follows Sē ēadiga Mathēus þā and sē hālga Andrēas hīe wæion cyssende him betwēonon Sē hālga Andrēas him tō cwæð, 'Hwæt is þæt, brōþor? Hū eart þū hēr gemet? Nū þrȳ dagas tō lāfe syndon þæt hīe þē willað ācwellan, and him tō mete gedōn' Sē hālga Mathēus him andswarode, and hē cwæð, 'Brōþor Andrēas, ac ne gehȳrdest þū Drihten cweþende, "For þon þe ic ēow sende swā swā scēap on middum wulfum?" þanon was geworden, mid þȳ þe hīe mē sendon on þis carcern, ic bæd ūrne Drihten þæt hē hine ætēowde, and hiaþe hē mē hine ætēowde, and hē mē tō cwæð, "Onbīd hēr XXVII daga, and æfter þon ic sende tō þē Andrēas þinne biððor, and hē þē ūt ālǣt of þissum carcerne and ealle þā [þe] mid þē syndon" Swā mē Drihten tō cwæð, ic gesiō Brōðor, hwæt sculon wē nū dōn?' Sē hālga Andrēas þā and sē hālga Mathēus gebædon tō Drihtne, and æfter þon gebede sē hālga Andrēas sette his hand ofer þāra wera ēagan þe þær on þām carcerne wæron, and gesihþe hīe onfēngon And eft hē sette his hand ofer hiora heortan, and heora andgīt him eft tō hwirfde The Greek version agrees in the main with the *Legend*, but as usual is somewhat more detailed

1028 Grimm, Kemble, and Baskervill set only a comma after *Godes*, but a heavier pause is better *Se hālga*, l 1029, refers specifically to Matthew, and it is his special prayer that follows, l 1030 ff

1034<sup>b</sup> Cf *Dan* 438 ac hīe on frīðe drihtnes

1035. Cf *El* 2-3 tū hund ond þrēo geteled rīmes, swylce xxx ēac

1035 ff It seems quite probable that the second half of lines 1036 and 1040 were never filled out, it should be noticed that the first half of both lines gives merely a number If the lines are thus regarded as incomplete, it is not necessary to suppose any omissions in the text Comparison with the *Legend* and the Greek version indicates also that nothing has been lost

The numbers in the different versions vary the *Legend*, p 121, gives 248 men and 49 women, the Greek version (Bonnet, p 94) has in some MSS 270 men, in others 249 men, the number of women in all MSS is 49 If l 1036 is to be filled out, the completed number, 249, is the most probable reading Wulker's reading *seofontig* is an attempt to make the Anglo-Saxon agree with the Greek version, but the regular form for 70 would be *hundseofontig*, not *seofontig*

B<sup>2</sup> suggests retaining the MS reading *on*, l 1039, changing *þær* to *þæm*, and emending l 1040 to read *ānes wana orwyrþe fiftig* The passage as thus reconstructed he would translate 'Two hundred, counted by number, also seventy [following Wulker], he saved from destruction, there he left not one fast with bonds in the city inclosure, out of which [1 e *on þæm*] then also, in addition to the men, of women fifty wanting one he fied from ignominy, from frigt'

1037<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 827 genered wīð nīðe, *Chr* 1258 generede from nīðcwale

1040 *ānes wana þe fiftig* *Wana*, usually as indeclinable adj with the genitive, is of frequent occurrence see Shipley, p 83, Sievers, *Gram*, § 291, note 2, and *PBB* IX, 255, 264 There is no example beside the present passage, however, in which it is followed by the particle *þe* before a numeral But see B-Γ, pp 1164-1165, for examples of *wan þe*, *læs þe*, followed, as here, by a numeral

The construction **wana þe** is probably due to contamination with *wan þe, las þe*, etc

**1044 ff** Matthew here drops out of the story, his name not being mentioned again. The poem does not make clear what becomes of him, but in the *Legend* and the Greek version we are told more specifically of the action of Matthew and the throng of the rescued. The rescued men and women are commanded to go to the lower parts of the city and sit under a fig tree and eat of its fruit until Andrew shall come to them. Matthew and his disciples are conveyed under cover of a cloud to St Peter, with whom they remain (cf *Legend*, p 121, Bonnet, p 94). The narrative in the *Andreas* compresses the account in that Matthew leads out the rescued men and women, the whole party being covered with the cloud, and, as indicated, nothing is said as to their destination.

**1046 weorod on wilsīð** Cf *Beow* 216 *weas on wilsīð*, *El* 223 *wif on willsīþ*

**1047 scyldhatan.** 'Wicked persecutors, enemies,' appositive to **ealdgenið-lan**, 1048. The only other occurrence of this word is l 1147, probably, however, **scyldhetum**, l 85, is to be regarded merely as a variant form. The first element is intensive as in *scyldfrece*, *Gen* 898. A noun compound of similar formation is found in *El* 1299 *lēase lēodhatan*, *Jud* 72 *lāðne lēodhatan*, etc. The second element in all these compounds is to be connected with *hatan*, 'to hate,' 'persecute.' The word *scyldhata* is accordingly not to be connected with Mod Germ *schultheiss*, 'judge,' which appears in OHG *scultheitzo* with the meaning *tribunus, centurio*, as is done by Grein, *Spr* II, 415, under the form *scyldhāta*, the word is correctly glossed by B-T, p 847, under *scyldhata*. Cf Wulfstan, ed Napier, p 164, l 11 *cynchatan hetole* and *lēodhatan grumme* — **scyððan**. The usual form of this verb is *scēððan*, the only examples with *y* as the radical vowel being, according to Sievers, *PBB* IX, 210, the present passage and l 1561.

**1048.** After **ealdgeniðlan**, Grimm, Grein, and Wulker have only a comma.

**1056<sup>a</sup>** So *Ex* 432, *Hy* IV, 43, *El* 80

**1059<sup>a</sup>** Cf *Ph* 519, *Chr* 576 *gongað glædmōde*, *El* 1095 *glædmōd ēode*, *Jud* 140 *oð hie glædmōde gegan hæfdon* — **tō þæs ðe**. **Tō** followed by the genitive occurs three times in *Andreas* (cf ll 1070, 1123), and in all three passages the construction plainly has the sense of limit of motion. Shipley, p 118, groups such constructions as occurring after verbs of motion to express the object of motion, and points out that the construction is unknown to Anglo Saxon prose.

**1061. oððæt.** Cosijn, *PBB* XXI, 14, thinks the word **þær** should appear after **oððæt**, but the expression looks back to l 1058<sup>b</sup> and is complete as it stands.

**1062 stapul ærenne.** The words correspond to *στύλον χαλκόν*, Bonnet, p 94, and *Legend*, p 121, l 21, *swer*, in both the Greek and the *Legend* the column is surmounted by an image, which is described in the *Legend* as *ærne onlicnesse*, though the column itself is not said to be made of brass. Nothing is said of the image in the poem.

**1065 þanon bāsnode** The expression indicates the direction from which that which he awaits is to come, cf Sievers, *PBB* XII, 193

**1068 frumgāras** The word is frequently used in the sense 'patriarch,' see B-T, p 342, but also, as here, 'leader, chief' Cf the Roman *primipilus*, the first centurion of the first cohort, and see T Rice Holmes, "Who were 'the Centurions of the First Rank'?", in his *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul* (London, 1899), pp 571-583 The term *primipilus* was evidently a technical term of rank in the Roman army, although the limits of its inclusion do not appear to be definitely determined In Anglo Saxon, however, the term *frumgār* does not appear to have technical meaning

1069<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 1614

1071<sup>a</sup> So *Jul* 544

1072-1074 Cf *Gu* 635

Wændun gē ond woldun wīperhycgende,  
 þæt gē scyppende sceoldan gelice  
 wesan in wuldre, ēow þær [þæs?] wyrs gelomp

1074<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow* 2323, *Gen* 49, 1446

1075-1077 Cf *Jul* 236-237

Ðā wæs mid clūstre carcernes duru  
 behliden, homra geweorc

**1078 unhyðige** The only other occurrence of this word in the poetry is *Gu* 1302, a single occurrence has also been noted in prose, cf B-T, p 1119, and Cosijn, *PBB* XXI, 14, where it is synonymous with *earn*, the opposite to *welig*

1079 lādspell beran. Cf 1 1295<sup>b</sup>

1081-1082 Wulker, reading *æniġ* in 1081, takes this word as subject of *gemette*, 1082 He translates 'dass der Fremden nicht einer ubng geblieben im Gefangnisse (ihnen) lebendig begegnet sei' But, as Sievers points out (*PBB* XVI, 551), *-mētan* is used here as a synonym of *findan*, and demands an object He remarks that *æniġne tō lāfe* 'nicht in den vers passt,' and suggests *æn(i)ge tō lāfe, in carcerne, cwic ne gemetton*. But the metrical argument does not seem to be sufficient reason for rejecting the natural reading *æniġne* in 1081

1084. *gāste berofene*. Cf since *berofene*, *Ex* 36, *golde berofene*, *Beow* 2931

1085<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 1568 *fæġne flæscho-man* — 1085<sup>b</sup> Cf *Chr* 801 *þær sceal forht monġ*, and see 1549, 1596.

1086<sup>a</sup> So also *Jul* 267

1087<sup>a</sup>. So 1557, *Gen* 879, *hēane hygegēomre*, *El* 1215, *Chr* 994

1088 *blātes bōdgastes*. There is nothing in the *Legend* or the Greek version corresponding to this striking figure

1090 *dēade gefeormedon*. Cf 1077<sup>b</sup> Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 15) would read *hrā gefeormedon: huru þegnum wearð*, etc, citing *Chr* 789 in proof that *huru* may carry the main metrical stress. But *duruþegnum* is so appropriate to the context that one hesitates to change it Sievers regards the line, which scans  $\underline{\text{L}}\text{x}\text{x} | \underline{\text{L}}\dot{\text{x}}\text{x}$ , as metrically imperfect, because in lines of this type only one unstressed syllable should follow the first stressed syllable But he himself (*PBB* X, 255) records a verse of the type  $\underline{\text{L}}\text{x}\text{x}\text{x} | \underline{\text{L}}\dot{\text{x}}\text{x}$  Cf also *Ap* 4 *torhte ond tūrēad(i)ge*,  $\underline{\text{L}}\text{x}\text{x} | \underline{\text{L}}\dot{\text{x}}\text{x}$ , and *An* 1108<sup>a</sup>,  $\underline{\text{L}}\dot{\text{x}}\text{x}\text{x} | \underline{\text{L}}\dot{\text{x}}\text{x}$

1092 **hildbedd stýred**. 'For them all was the war-couch prepared' The passage with which one would like to connect this is *Beow* 2436 *morðwíðed strēd*, so Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 15) derives **stýred** from *strewian*, and *sthēd*, emended to *streid*, in the *Beowulf*, from the same verb. But it is difficult to see how **stýred** can derive from *strewian*. B-T, p. 931, glosses **stýred** under *styrían*, 'stir, disturb,' and explains the passage as meaning that their bed was disturbed when they, the dead watchmen, were poisoned out as food to the Mermedonians, so also Grimm, p. 125, 'so mag **hildbedd styrían** sein "das ehrenbett verwehren, entziehen, storen," eher als "das todesbett steuern, ordnen"' But Grimm and B-T appear to overlook the meaning of the first half of l. 1092, the **hildbedd** is **stýred** as result of a grievous conflict, i.e. the struggle with Andrew and Matthew. Grein's explanation of the word, *Sp* II, 491, as derived from infinitive **styrían**, **stieran**, with the first meaning 'guide, direct,' a well defined second meaning 'restrain, control,' and for the present passage a third meaning, 'appoint, ordain, arrange,' seems altogether to be the most probable one. Cf. Hall, 'For each of the door thanes was the deathbed appointed.'

1094 **burgwaru**. Sievers (*PBB* I, 489), notes this example and one other, *lufu*, *Hy* VII, 30, as the only instances of the acc. sg. of fem. *a*-stems ending in *-u*.

1095 **gengan**. A form of the verb found only in the poetry, see *Gram*, § 396, note 2.

1096 **mōdige**. This example seems to have escaped Sievers, *PBB* X, 460.

1097<sup>a</sup>. So *Rid* XXIII, 11 — 1097<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow* 835 *þær was eal geador Gren-dles grāpe*.

1099 **taan**. See 6, note, 649<sup>a</sup>, note.

1100 ff. The poet omits a necessary step in the motivation of the narrative here. This whole episode of the choosing of a victim from their own number by the Mermedonians is omitted in the *Legend*, but the Greek version (Bonnet, pp. 94-95) relates that as the hands of the Mermedonians were lifted in the act of mutilating the bodies of the dead watchmen, at the prayer of Andrew the knives fell from their hands and their hands were turned to stone. It thus became necessary to cast lots in order to determine which of their number should be offered as food for the rest. Another interesting detail is omitted by the Anglo-Saxon version in the present passage. According to the Greek (Bonnet, p. 96) the Mermedonians determine to subsist upon the bodies of the seven dead watchmen until they shall be able to send out their young men in boats to attack the neighboring countries and bring in some victims with which to satisfy their hunger. Gutschmid, p. 382, points out that this statement accords with the identification of Mermedonia as the *πολιχμιον Μυρμήκιον* of Strabo, Bk. VII, 4, 5, since the Achæans of the east coast of the Black Sea, as well as other tribes of the region, were, according to Strabo, notorious pirates (cf. *Introd.*, p. lxvi).

1104 ff. In the Greek version, the lot falls upon seven old men, of these seven one offers his son in his stead, and later his daughter as well. The Anglo-Saxon version says nothing of the seven men or of the daughter.

1107<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu* 599 *fēores orwēnan*.

1111 **lāc**. For the etymology of this word, see Bradley, *Academy* XXXVI, 24-25 (July 13, 1889).

1112<sup>a</sup> Cf *Gu* 95-96 þām þe his giefe willað þicgan tō þonce

1113 **mōdgēomre**. The compound occurs also 1708 and *Beow* 2894, but the more frequent form is *gēomor mōd*. The syntax here is nom pl, agreeing with the sense, not the grammar, of **þeod**, nom sg fem

1115<sup>1</sup>-1116<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 2278-2279 *Siwā se ðēodsweaþa hēold on hrusan horderna sum*, of the dragon which guarded the treasure

1116 **rēow ricsode**. The metre requires double alliteration and therefore favors the change from **hrēow** to **rēow**. The MS reading **hrēow** in the present passage is the only occurrence of that form for **rēow** (cf *SIEVERS, PBB IX, 257*)

1118<sup>a</sup> So *Ph* 550 — The Edd have no punctuation after **onbryded**, but a period after **beadulāce**

1119<sup>b</sup> So *Edg* 34 (*Bibl II, 384*)

1122 **eogoðe**. Initial **g** is also omitted in **eador**, 1627, see *Gram*, § 214, 7

1124 **herigweardas**. Corresponding to the Greek *οι δῆμιοι*, Bonnet, p 96, l 5, and frequently in this episode. Perhaps nowhere is the grotesqueness of the narrative in the *Andreas* so striking as in the present passage, in which an army is called together with all the accompaniments of battle for the purpose of devouring their single victim

1125 **ceasterwarena**. Perhaps one should read here **ceaster-**, as in 1646, *El* 42, as is suggested by Napier, *Old English Glosses*, p 103, note. But the MS of the *Andreas* presents in many respects a late text, and it may be that here we have an example of the tendency in late West Saxon to extend the *-e* of the oblique case of feminine nouns to the nominative, cf *Ap* 11, **Rōmebyrig**, and see Meyer, *Zur Sprache d jung Theile d Chronik von Peterborough*, § 38. That the word is to be taken as compound, and not as two words, as is done by Grein and Baskervill, is sufficiently established by its use in other passages. Wulker, note to l 1125, incorrectly ascribes **ceasterwarena** to *Spr* I, 159, the citation there agrees with Grein's text — **cyrn upp āstāh**. Bourauel, p 82, unnecessarily supposes this phrase to have been derived from Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 451, *It clamor coelo*, see also ll 761-762, note. Cf *Beow* 782 **sweg ūp āstāg**, *Gu* 234 **wōð ūp āstāg cearfulra cirm**, *Jul* 62 **reord ūp āstāg**

1127<sup>b</sup> Also l 1342<sup>b</sup>, *Jul* 615, **hearmlēoð āgōl**

1128<sup>1</sup> So *Gen* 2100, 2479, 2699

1130 The logical relation of the clause introduced by **þe** is that of a clause explanatory of what precedes, thus Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 272, translates 'Schonung bei dem volke, dass es ihm das leben, das dasein, gonnen wollte.' Examples of similar construction are *Dan* 607, *Beow* 1334, 2606. Grein, *Dicht*, takes **þe** as relative, its antecedent being **folce** 'doch der Arme konnte da durchaus nicht finden Gnade bei dem Volke, die ihm gonnen wollte seines Lebens Frstung'

1132 **sæcce gesōhte**. Cf *Beow* 1989 **sæcce sēcean**, *ibid* 2562 **sæcce tō sēceanne**. Cf *El* 940 **sæce ræran**, *Beow* 2499, *Rid* LXXXVIII, 29 **sæcce fremman**

\*1133 **scūrheard**. The exact meaning of the compound has not been satisfactorily determined. It is found only in this passage and in *Beow* 1033, and is defined by B-T 'made hard by blows,' by Grein, *Spr* II, 415, 'ictu durus,' *Dicht*

'schauerhart' Pearce, *MLN* VII, 193, explains **scūrheard** as meaning 'hardened in water,' 'shower of water' passing into 'water at rest' Professor Hart, *MLN* VIII, 61, quotes the following phrase (from Lumby, *Be Domes Dæge*, p 16, l 264) *ne bēn hagul scūnas heard mid snawe*, i.e. *hagulscūnas*, and takes **scūrheard** as = 'sharp,' 'cutting like a storm' Palmer, *MLN* VIII, 122, gives the compound an active sense and takes it to mean 'hard in battle,' **scūr** 'the strokes of the sword in battle' This seems the most probable meaning of the word, and although *scūr* is not found in Anglo Saxon in the sense of 'battle,' clearly defined examples occur in Chaucer, *T and Cr* III, 1063-1064, IV, 47-49 (see my note, *MLN* XIX, 234), and later in the ballads, in the derived sense 'attack,' e.g. 'It was a shour o sad sickness,' Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* III, 385, also I, 68, II, 105, III, 386

1137-1138<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 1477-1478<sup>a</sup> *gif ic æt beafre þinre scolde aldre linnan*

1139. The fact that the first half-line is too short metrically, as it is preserved in the MS, does not seem to Wulker sufficient reason for an emendation, if the half-line is to be filled out, however, he suggests **prist ond protheard**, as in l 1264

1140<sup>a</sup> So also l 1151, *Wand* 62, *Men* 82, *Beow* 2757 *magopegn mödīg*

1142-1143 A reminiscence, Cosijn thinks (*PBB* XXI, 15), of the earlier passage, ll 50-51

1144<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 760, 789, *Jul* 263, *El* 1086, *Gu* 910, cf also *Gu* 1061 *hāhg on hēahþu*

1145 The figure is not found in the Greek version, cf Walker, p 362, 'and straightway the knives were loosened and fell out of the hands of the executioners' Perhaps the poet had in mind *Beow* 1608, *þæt hit eal gemealt ise gelicost*, of the sword of Beowulf with which he slew Grendel's mother But the use of wax in the figure is quite likely due to association in the poet's mind with the altar candles, cf *Chr* 989 *byrneþ wæter swā weax*

1147 The scribe evidently wrote **sceaðan** here as an appositive to **scyldhatan** But the metre and the sense both require the verb, the forms of the word which appear in the *Andreas* are **scyððan**, l 1047, and **scyðeð**, l 1561 Perhaps one should read here **scyððan**

1154. Translate 'eternal peace for him who can attain it' Retaining both **frēond** and **hīe** as in the MS, it would be necessary to make **hīe** refer back to **gēoce**, l 1152 — a possible but improbable construction Grein, *Dicht*, translates 'Freundliebe unvergänglich dem der sie finden kann', K inconsistently retains **hīe** and translates 'an eternal friend for him who can find him', Root, 'There is eternal peace ever prepared for those who can attain,' omitting the object See 907<sup>b</sup>-909, note

1155<sup>a</sup>. Cf *Beow* 128 *þā wæs æfter wiste wōp ūp āhafen* — 1155<sup>b</sup> So *Rid* XXXV, 1

1156<sup>a</sup> So *Ex* 107 — 1156<sup>b</sup> So *El* 54, 550

1157-1158 Cf *El* 611<sup>b</sup>-613<sup>a</sup> *þe on wēstenne mēðe ond metelēas mōrland trydeð, hungre gehæfted*

1158-1159 **Hornsalu** and **wīnræced** are subjects of **wunedon** But Gn<sup>2</sup>, placing only a comma after **gehæfte**, takes **hornsalu** and **wīnræced** as accusatives In *Dicht*, however, he translates according to his first reading, 'die



Hornsale bleben leei, die Gastgemacher' Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 15) cites **wēste wīnræced wuman**, and remarks 'contradictio in terminis' The phrase would be self contradictory if one took **wīnræced** as accusative, but not if it is taken as subject of the intransitive **wunedon**, 'stood,' 'remained,' cf 802, *Ap* 95

1159 **wīnræced** Grimm, p xxxvii, derives **wīnræced**, as also **wīnburg**, ll 1637, 1672, and similar compounds, from *wine*, 'friend,' or *wyn*, 'joy,' not from **wīn**, 'wine' — 'denn es wurde bier und meth getrunken' But the word for friend should appear in compounds as *wine*, e.g. *winedryhten*, *winemæg*, etc, and the word for joy as *wyn*, e.g. *wynbēam*, *wyndæg*, etc Wine is mentioned all through the poetry, e.g. *Beow* 1162 byrelas sealdon wīn of wundorfatum, l 1233 druncon wīn weras, *Jud* 8, *wīnhāte*, 'invitation to the wine', *Jud* 16, *wīngedrinc*, 'wine drinking' For an account of the cultivation of the vine and the use of wine throughout Europe, see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*<sup>3</sup>, p 77 ff., Gummere, *German Origins*, pp 71-72 Cf *meoduburgum*, *Husband's Message* 16, *medobyrig*, *Jud* 167, *medoærn*, *Beow* 69 Similar compounds with **wīn** are numerous

1160 **brūcanne**. Sievers (*PBB* X, 482) reads **brūcan** for the sake of the metre, a similar change is proposed for the inflected infinitive in 1481, 1659, 1689 But it should be observed that all these lines have metrically the same form,  $\angle \times \times | \angle \simeq \times$ , and it is extremely likely that they have the poet's sanction in the form in which they appear in the MS

1161 Cf *Wand* 111 gesæt him sundor æt rūne

1165<sup>a</sup> So *El* 382 — 1165<sup>b</sup> Cf *Vision of the Cross* 80 Is nū sæl cumen

1166<sup>b</sup> So 1605<sup>b</sup>, *El* 426 nū is þearf mycel, *Jud* 695 is mē þearf micel, *Chr* 751, 848 is ūs þearf micel Cf 158, note.

1169 Cf *Chr* 1564 won ond whitelēas, hafað wērges blēo

1170<sup>b</sup> So *Jud* 90, of Holofernes, *Jud* 93 has *tires brytta*, appositive to *dryhten*

1171 **hellehinca** The only occurrence of the word in Anglo Saxon, it is in apposition with **dēoful**, l 1168, and **morþres brytta**, l 1170 Grimm, p 129, derives the second element from a hypothetical Anglo Saxon *hincan*, 'claudicare' Grein, *Spr* II, 31, glosses the word by 'Hollenhinkei, Teufel,' and cites Anglo-Saxon *ādroma*, 'devil,' in *Gn* 884, which he explains as compounded of *ād*, 'fire,' and *-lama*, 'lame' I have not been able to discover other early allusions to the popular belief that the devil was lame Modern allusions are familiar, e.g. in Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux* (adapted from the Spanish *El Diablo cojuelo*, of Guevara) Le Sage (ed Jannet, 1867, I, 12-13) draws the obvious parallel between his limping devil and Vulcan, both of whom were crippled through falling from the mid regions of the air to the earth The belief in the lameness of the devil is quite probably an outgrowth of the story of the fall of Satan Cf Heine, *Werke*, ed Elster, I, 111

Ich rief den Teufel und er kam

Und ich sah ihn mit Verwundrung an,

Er ist nicht hasslich und ist nicht lahm,

Er ist ein lieber, scharmanter Mann

Cf 'himke-bein,' and see Grimm, *Teut Myth* III, 993, IV, 1603

1176 **nēon**. Cf *Gram*, § 112, § 150, 3

1178<sup>b</sup> So *Dan* 250, 492

1180 Holthausen (*PBB* XVI, 551) changes to *gewyrhtan*, "dem tater, urheber," da nur Andreas gemeint ist' Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 16) objects, however, that the word means here merely 'mitschuldige' Grein, *Dicht*, translates 'an dem Wurker', Root, 'on their author' It seems simpler, however, to take the word as a plural rather than alter the text The logic which leads Holthausen to change to a singular should demand also a singular for *oncyððæda*, since only one deed is mentioned in the preceding lines — the leading out of the people from the prison But it is a good rhetorical device to change from the particular and the singular to the general and the plural — 1180<sup>b</sup> Gn's emendation, *wæpna spor*, is based on *Jul* 623, the exact reading, however, at that place, is *wæpnes spor*

1181 *ealdorgeard* 'The life-enclosure, the body' Grimm mentions *Mald* 296-297, *gār oft burhwōd fāges feorhhūs*, and this passage confirms the admirable emendation of Kemble and Napier The word is thus a synonym of *feorh-hord*, l 1182 Grimm, p 129, retains the MS reading *eador-*, as equivalent to *edor, eodor*, 'enclosure,' 'court,' 'dwelling,' the compound *eadorgeard* meaning 'aula septa,' 'domus' The whole phrase *eadorgeard fāges* he defines as 'domus moribundi,' 'caput' Wulker follows Grimm, except that he takes the phrase as meaning not merely 'head' but 'body' in general Grein, *Spr* I, 234, explains *eador-* as meaning 'vem' (cf *ædr, ædre*, 'vem'), the compound as meaning 'domus venarum,' 'corpus'?

1182<sup>a</sup> So *Ph* 221

1188<sup>b</sup> Cf *Beow* 811 hē [Grendel] fāg wrið God, *Sat* 97 ic eom fāh wrið God

1189 *Hwæt*' *Ū* *dēofles stræl*. The corresponding phrase in the *Legend* (p 122, ll 10-11) reads *þū heardeste stræl tō æghwildecne unrīhtnesse* But the Greek version (Bonnet, p 100, l 13) has merely <sup>?</sup>Ω *Βελία ἐχθρότατε* Zupitza (*Haupt's Zs* XVIII, 185) sees in the *stræl* of the two Anglo-Saxon versions a reflection from their common Latin original *Stræl* he supposes to be a translation of Latin *sagitta* or *telum*, which in turn is a mistranslation of the *Βελία* of the Greek, taken not for Behal, but for *βέλος* = 'dart, spear' Cf *Chr* 779 *ne þearf him ondrædan dēofla strælas*, Wulfstan, ed Napier, p 214, l 13 *eall mid dēofles stiælum āwrecen*

1190<sup>a</sup>. Cf 1384, *Hy* IV, 93 *ȝcað his yrmþu*, of the sinner

1191<sup>a</sup>. Cf *Beow* 1274 *gehnægde hellegāst þā hē hēan gewāt*

1193 *Sātān* The name Satan is not of frequent occurrence in the verse Gn, *Spr* II, 793, records only nine examples, three in *Gen*, four in *Sat*, and two in *An*, to these add one in *Chr* l 1522

1194 For the phrase *Dryhtnes æ dēman*, cf l 1403, *Ap* 10 *Dēman* in the sense 'glorify, celebrate,' is found elsewhere, e.g. *Gen* 17, *Jul* 2, *Gu* 498, etc., but the above three passages are the only occurrences of *æ dēman* Perhaps Kemble's reading *æ* should be followed, the MS form may be an echo of *ā*, l 1193

1197<sup>b</sup>. So *Jul* 243, 345

1198 Cf l 1445, and *Beow* 2645 for *ŷām hē manna mæst mærdā gefremede*

1201 ff Here again (cf 1100 ff, note) the poet fails to make clear the motivation of his narrative, in the Greek version and the *Legend* this episode is clearly distinguished from the first coming together of the Mermedonians (cf 1067 ff, 1093 ff) In the present passage, when Andrew's voice is heard, the devil bids his

followers go in search of him, the passage in the *Legend* (p 122, ll 19-21) corresponding to 1201-1205, is as follows Ðā burhlēode þā urnon, and hī betýndon þære ceastie gatu, and hī sōhton þone hālgan Andrēas þæt hie hine genāmon Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 16) draws a parallel between this threefold description of the arming of the Mermedonians and the threefold description of the coming of Grendel in *Beowulf*, inferring therefrom the naturalness of such repetitions in Anglo-Saxon epic narrative But the passages in *Andreas* are merely a reflection — and a confused reflection at that — of its source Cf 1212, note

1202<sup>b</sup> So *Ap* 21 henges byrhtme, *El* 205 heriges beorhtme Cf 1271<sup>b</sup>, note

1204<sup>a</sup> So *Jud* 333 — 1204<sup>b</sup> Cf *Gen* 1652, 2453 corðrum miclum, *Chr* 578 corðre ne lýtle, *Edg* 2 corðre mycclum, *El* 274, *Ph* 167 cordra mæste

1207 So *Sat* 262, *Chr* 716, *Gifts of Men* 4, metod mihtum swið, *Dan* 284, *Az* 5

1208 **ellen fremman.** Cf *Beow* 3 ellen fremedon, *Beow* 636-637 ic gefremman sceal eorlic ellen

1210<sup>b</sup> Cf *Gu* 875 næs sēo stund latu

1212 **cealdan clommm** The only example of inst pl in *-an* in the *Andreas*, for examples in the *Beowulf*, cf *Beow* 963, 1502, 1505, 1542, 2692 Cf *Seaf* 10 caldum clommm — **cýð þē sylfne** The poet has omitted to mention that Andrew has made himself invisible to the Mermedonians, the Greek version and the *Legend* state this specifically Cf 1201 ff, note

1218 **mānslaga** It seems best to take **mānslaga** as acc pl, assuming thus an otherwise unrecorded feminine *-slagi*, parallel to the masculine *slege* This whole passage is an evident reminiscence of ll 954 ff, where, however, the text reads **slege** as object of **ðolie** Simons, p 97, would read *mānslæge*, and Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 16) *mānslægas*, thus reducing the word to the same form as in l 956 B-T, p 670, suggests *mānslagan*, in apposition to **scyldige**, l 1216 Kemble retains the MS reading as gen pl, translating 'though thou mayst suffer wounds dark of the slaughteers I abide with thee' But the readings of both B-T and Kemble are stylistically contrary to the spirit of the verse

1220 **lārsmeoðas.** See 86, note

1222 Grein and Wulker put a comma after **gebundon**, all other Edd a period A comma is as much punctuation as is permissible, since the clause ll 1223-1225, is explanatory of what precedes, 'after the best of princes was revealed,' i.e. had laid aside his invisibility Cf 1212<sup>b</sup>

1223 **æðelinga wynn.** So 1713, *Jul* 730, and cf *Gu* 1081 *eorla wynn*, *Ph* 70 *laguflōdu wynn*, *Ph* 290 *æðeltungla wyn*, and see Sieveis, *Angha* XIII, 6, for similar examples throughout the later Christian poetry Cook, *Christ*, p 86, thinks that 'the expression comes from the Latin (and no doubt originally from the Greek) hymns' In *Chr* 71, Mary is called *wīfa wynn* and in *Hymn* III, 26, *ealra fāmnenā wyn*, this is also the application of the phrase in the Latin hymns, e.g. 'angelorum gaudium,' 'coeli gaudium,' 'mundi gaudium', for full citations, cf Cook, l c The expression is not found in *Beowulf* or any of the early heroic poems

1224 Grein, *Spr* I, 6 hī hine andweardne ēagum, etc

1225 **sec.** For other examples of this spelling, see *Spr* II, 420

1226 **welwange**. Cf *sel*, 762, **fregn**, 1163, **meðle**, 1436, 1626

1227<sup>a</sup> So *Er* 183, 228, *Beow* 2238, 2915, *Sal* 366 mid lēoda duguþum — 1227<sup>b</sup> So *Gu* 209<sup>b</sup>

1230 **Þrāgmælum** Grimm's reading *Þrāgmælum*, which is repeated in *Spr* II, 596, is made for the sake of the alliteration, but, as Bright points out (*MLN* II, 82), the logically important word here is **tēon** Sievers (*PBB* XVIII, 406) discusses the meaning of the first element, **Þrāg-**, 'time,' not as Cosijn (*Anteekeningen op den Beowulf*, p 6) would have it, 'affliction, oppression' Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 15) later accepts Sievers' interpretation — **torngeniðlan**. All the translations (also *Spr* II, 547) take **torngeniðlan** as acc sg, meaning Andrew, except Kemble who regards it as nom pl, appositive to the subject of **hēton** One would like to take the word as acc sg, since otherwise no object to **lædan** is expressed On the other hand, **torngeniðlan** is not a word that the poet would be likely to use to designate Andrew The word occurs twice elsewhere, *EI* 568, where it refers in a hostile manner to the Jews, and *EI* 1305, where it refers to the wicked on the day of judgment Cosijn's insertion of **hine** in l 1229<sup>a</sup> removes the difficulty, but perhaps it is not necessary to supply the pronoun

1234. **efneswā wide swā** So *Beow* 1223 — **lāgon** Perhaps 'run, extend' ? See 375, note on **stōð** Baskervill has no punctuation after **lāgon**, apparently taking **enta ærgeweorc** as object of the verb

1235. **enta ærgeweorc**. So *Beow* 1679 (of a sword), 2717 (of the cave of the fire-drake), 2774 (of the fire-drake's treasure), *Wand* 87 (buildings), *Ruin* 2 (buildings), *Gu C* 2 (citadels), *An* 1495 (columns, pillars) Grimm, *Tent Myth* II, 534, remarks 'Ancient buildings of singular structure which have outlasted many centuries, and such as men of to-day no longer take in hand, are vulgarly ascribed to giants or to the devil These are the *enta geweorc* of Anglo-Saxon poetry' So also Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp 98-99 'The "street" (*strata via*) and the "ceaster" (*castra*) were soon borrowed, thing and word, and in *Beowulf* we are told that the road which led up to Hrothgar's burg was "stone-varnegated" — *stræt was stānfāh*, — paved in the Roman fashion, although it is plain that, as with stone in houses, so with these paved roads, the Germanic instinct regarded the process as something uncanny and savoring of those mysterious giants who long ago had rolled up the huge piles of masonry'

1236 **stræte stānfāge**. The elaboration of the allusion to the street is characteristic of the poetic style The *Legend*, p 123, l 5, in the passage corresponding to ll 1232-1236 says merely, *and hie hine tugon geond þære ceastre lanan* The word 'street,' Lat *strata*, conveyed to the Anglo-Saxon a dignified idea, connoting, possibly, something of the greatness of the traditional Roman civilization in England Cf *Beow* 320-321 *Stræt was stānfāh, stīg wisode gumum ætgædere*, and the frequent poetic compounds with *stræti*, e g *farodþ*, *here*, *lagu*, *merestræt* In a similar way allusions to the city of the Mermedonians are elaborated, cf, besides the present passage, ll 40-43, 287, 839-843, 973, 1155, 1649 See Introd, p lxx Ruins and ancient roads might readily pass into the stock of common poetic tradition, and this development would be furthered by the attitude of the Anglo Saxons towards towns and roads 'All records seem to show that in early Saxon times towns counted for very little in the life of the people, and

the question at once arises, What of the Roman cities? It may be said generally that the Teutonic invaders made little account either of the Roman towns as places of habitation or the Roman roads as routes of intercourse, and the country would have been settled in just the same manner had these not been in existence at all. As in Britain so in the Gallic provinces, the Teutonic invaders of the Empire, whether Goths or Saxons or Franks, cared little for the life of the Romanized cities. The most striking object lesson on Roman roads is to be gained by opening a large-scale map of the center of England, where the great Fosse Way, which can be more or less clearly followed from the borders of Devon to Leicester and Lincoln, is seen sweeping across the country in but little connection with the present life of its inhabitants. In its comparative isolation this immensely extended track is very significant of the mental attitude of the Saxon settlers towards these monuments of the unifying influence of the Roman rule. To sum up, therefore, the Teutonic settlements, it is evident, were independent, self-centered little communities, and did not regard as a matter of primary importance the means of intercourse with their neighbors. We are reminded of the words of Tacitus about the Germans, that they avoided cities and even contiguous habitations, settling down in detached bodies apart from each other, just as spring or field or grove offered attractions (*Germania*, chap. 16). All over the country the existing Roman roads pass through certain villages and towns that had their origin in military stations, but as a rule the seats of the Teutonic communities will be found a mile or two away on either side' *The Arts in Early England*, by G. Baldwin Brown, I, 52-64. See 842, note, and Cook's *Christ*, p. 73, on the use of stone in building in the Anglo-Saxon period — 1236<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Ex* 459-460 *storm úþ gewāi, herewōpa māst*, and for similar figurative uses of *storm*, see *Spr* II, 485.

1238<sup>a</sup> So *Jul* 589

1239 *sārbennum soden*. Cf. *Gu* 1046 *sorgwylmum soden, Gu* 1123 *soden sārwymlum, Gu* 1236 *soden sorgwælmum*

1240 *bānhūs ābrocen*. Cf. *Beow* 3147 *oð þæt hē ǰā bānhūs gebrocen hæfde, hāt on hreðre*

1240<sup>b</sup>-1241<sup>a</sup>. *Hātan heolfre* is syntactically parallel to *ȳðum*, 1240. Cf. *Beow* 849 *hātan heolfre, heorodrēore wēol, Beow* 2693 *swāt ȳðum wēoll, Beow* 1422-1423 *Flōd blōde wēol (folc to sǣgon), hātan heolfre, and Beow* 3147, quoted in note to l. 1240<sup>a</sup>. In l. 1241<sup>a</sup> *Cosijn* would read *hāt of hreþre*, citing *Riddle* XCIII, 16-17 *blōd üt ne cōm, heolfor of hreþre*. But the two passages are not parallel, while the evidence of the above passages from the *Beowulf* is borne out by *An* 1277. Cf. also *Gu* 1314 *teagor ȳðum wēol*

1242 *ellen untwēonde*. Cf. *El* 797 *hyht untwēondne* — 1242<sup>b</sup>. See 140, note

1243<sup>a</sup> So *El* 1308, *Hy* IV, 10, *synnum asundrad, Gu* 486, *Ph* 242

1245 So *Beow* 1235, 2303

1246 *sigetorht swungen*. The adj. agrees with the subject of *wæs*, unexpressed. *Cosijn* remarks "Der *sigerōfa* Andreas heisst hier wie *Crist* in *Sat* 240, *sigetorht* er hielt die folterung mit heldenmut aus". He also calls attention to the inappropriateness of *sigetorht*, 'radiant,' as descriptive of the night

which comes to put an end to Andrew's torments K retains **sigeltorht**, connecting it with Andrew 'Thus was the whole day long until the evening came the star bright one beaten' Grein, *Dicht*, translates 'dei Siegstrahrende gegeiselt', but in *Spr* II, 448, he suggests **æfen sigeltorht** W, placing a comma after **sigeltorht**, Root, and Hall follow Grein in *Spr*, Simons, p 124, 'sigeltorht, wohl zu ändern in **sigetorht**, *siegstrahlend*, = Andreas' Reading **æfen sigeltorht** we should have a weak repetition in **sunne swegeltorht**, 1248<sup>a</sup>

1251<sup>b</sup> So *El* 173

1252 **nēh**. Bright (*MLN* II, 82) remarked that **nēh**, possibly representing an older *βēh* repeated from l 1250, should be omitted But **nēh** (as Professor Bright now also believes) is necessary to the meaning here and is good idiom, cf *Gu* 1114-1117

Cōm se seofeða dæg  
ældum andweard, þæs þe him in gesonc  
hāt heortan nēah hildescūrum  
flacor flānþracu

1253-1269 On this passage Brooke, p 180, remarks 'In the *Andreas* the weather of Northumbria is described and it is as wild and hard as that of which we hear in *Beowulf* and are told in the *Seafarer*' All of the present passage is elaborated from the following bare hint, *Legend*, p 123, ll 8-9 Ðā æfen geworden wæs, hī hine sendon on þæt carcern and hie gebundon his handa behndan and hie hine forlēton

1254<sup>a</sup> So *Gu* 1138 — 1254<sup>b</sup> So also *Beow* 2938, *Gu* 1261 Cf l 818<sup>b</sup>, note

1258 **āhre hildstapan** Grimm, p xxxv, suggests *hildstapan*, 'viatores tegminibus involuti' or *hæðstapan*, 'die uber die heide stapfen', cf *Beow* 1368 *hæðstapa*, of the stag, *Fates of Men* 13 (cited below), of the wolf, and the emended *hār hæðstapa* (MS *hār hæð*, see Rieger, *Verskunst*, p 46, Bright, *MLN* XVII, 213), appositive to *wēstengryre*, in *Ex* 118 But, as Cosijn suggests (*PBB* XXI, 16), the picture here is epic, heroic, the frost is personified as a gray-haired warrior, stalking abroad Cf *hār hilderinc*, *Beow* 1307, 3136, *Mald* 169, *Brun* 39, *hār heaðorinc*, *Ex* 241, *hār heorowulf*, *Ex* 181, in all the above passages the phrases are descriptive of men *Hār* is also the favorite adjective in descriptions of the wolf, cf above, *Ex* 181, figuratively applied to men, *sē hāra wulf*, *Wand* 82, *seal hine wulf etan*, *hār hæðstapa*, *Fates of Men* 13 (*Bibl* III, 148) The mythic feeling pervading this passage is illustrated by the following related Teutonic traditions 'Nowhere is the hostile omen of the north better expressed than in old Frisian law, where winter and darkness are represented as ruthless invaders *silla tenebrosa nebula et frigidissima hiems in hortos et in sepes descendit*—a bold personification [Grimm, *Teut Myth*, p 762] The north wind is often called the "schwarze Bise" Winter, like night and storm cloud, is the dragon of many a myth For the Scandinavian, that famous "catastrophe," or "night" of the gods, will be preceded by a terrible winter A favorite emblem for winter as well as darkness is one of man's fiercest enemies, the wolf The home of Grendel, in *Beowulf*, is marked by *wulfhleōðu* [l 1358] and *hrīme bearwas* [l 1363, the MS has *hrīnde*, usually read *hrīmge* by the Edd] Winter is used as convertible term with Death in many old folk-rites, and the metaphor is universal' Gummere, "On the Symbolic Use of the Colors Black and

White in Germanic Tradition," in *Haverford College Studies* I, 122 'Ymir, or in giant's language Orgelmir, was the first created, and out of his body's enormous bulk were afterwards engendered earth, water, mountain and wood Ymir him self originated in melted hoarfrost or rime (*hrīm*), hence all giants are called *hrīmbursar*, "rime-giants," *Su* 6, *Sæm* 85<sup>a</sup>,<sup>b</sup>, *hrīmkaldr*, "rime-cold," is an epithet of *burs* and *rotunn*, *Sæm* 33<sup>b</sup>, 90<sup>a</sup>, they still drip with thawing rime, their beards (*kunnslógr*, "chin-forest") are frozen, *Sæm* 53<sup>b</sup>, *Hrīmnur*, *Hrīmgrimr*, *Hrīmgerðr* are proper names of giants, *Sæm* 85<sup>a</sup>, 86<sup>a</sup>, 114, 145' Grimm, *Teut Myth*, p 532

1260<sup>a</sup> So *Ph* 59 — wæteres þrym See 1536

1260-1262 Translate 'The might of the water shrank together (i.e. the water became hard and motionless) over the river streams, the ice formed a bridge over the dark sea-road' B puts a semicolon after *þrym*, with no punctuation after *æastrēamas*, l 1261 K and Gn<sup>2</sup> as B, except a comma instead of semicolon after *þrym* All other Edd have no punctuation after *þrym*, but a comma after *æastrēamas* K translates 'over the river streams the ice made a bridge, a pale water-road', Grein, *Dicht*, translates according to his first punctuation, 'die Kraft des Wassers schwand hin über die Fluten und die Hülle des Eises überbrückte die glänzende Brandungstrasse' Root and Hall follow Grein Reading with K, Gn,<sup>2</sup> and B, we must make *brimrāde* an appositive to a noun *brycg* contained in *brycgade*, but *brimrāde* means the water itself and not a bridge over it, cf l 1587, where the word is in apposition with *geofon* (MS *heofon*), and such compounds as *brumlād*, *farøðstræði*, etc Cf *Ex Gn* 72-73 Forst sceal frēosan, is brycgian

1262 *blæce brimrāde*. '*Blæc* is our modern black, and is used comparatively seldom — once in describing the black sea-roads, once as applied to the raven, once in referring to adders Conventional and symbolical is the use of black in mentioning evil spirits' Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *Pub of the MLA* XIV, 182

1265-1266. L 1266<sup>a</sup> is parenthetical, *þæs*, 1266<sup>b</sup>, being governed by *blon*, l 1265<sup>b</sup>, cf l 1380<sup>b</sup>

1266 Cf *Gu* 664 *ācol* for *ðām egsan*, *Dan* 726 *ācul* for *þām egsan*

1268 *wuldres gum*. 'The jewel of the heavens,' 'the sun', for this sense of *wuldor*, cf l 356, note Cf *Ph* 92 *glædum gumme* = Godes condelle, l 91, *Chr* 695-696 *sunne ond mōna gummas swāscýne* See l 31, note, 50, note

1269<sup>b</sup>-1270 Cf *Beow* 497<sup>b</sup>-498 *þær wæs hæleða drēam duguð unlyfel*

1270 *ding*. The only recorded occurrence of the word

1271<sup>b</sup> Cf 1202<sup>b</sup>, *El* 39 *werodes breahtme*, *Ex* 65 *werodes beahrtme* Cf *Ap* 21<sup>b</sup>

1274 The subject here, as frequently, is omitted after *ðā* For the phrase *eft swā ær*, cf l 1341, 1476, *Gu* 361, *Beow* 643, 1787

1275 *swāt yðum wēoll*. So *Beow* 2693 Cf ll 1240, 1546

1275-1276 *Lifer* in the sense 'blood, clotted blood' is not found elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon, but cf Icel *blöðlyfr*, f pl, 'clotted blood' (Cleas-Vig, p 69) It seems better stylistically to take *blōd* and *lifrum* together as a compound than to separate them as is done by all Edd, the subject of *swēalg* is then *swāt*,

**blōðlifrūm** is the logical object (cf *Spr* II, 505, for examples of *swelgan* with inst), **hātan heolfre**, l 1277, is instrumental. The passage means that the fresh blood breaking out from Andrew's wounds flowed over, or swallowed up, the clotted blood, the marks of his old wounds. See Cosijn, *PBB* XXI, 17.

In the corresponding passage, the Greek version (Bonnet, p 103, ll 4-6) reads *Καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐκολλῶντο ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἦν βέον*, the *Legend*, p 123, l 6, reads *mid þi þe sē ēadiga Andrēas wæs togen, his lichama wæs gemenged mid þære eorðan, swā þæt blōd fēow ofer eorðan swā wæter* Gn, *Spr* II, 185, glosses **lifrūm** as inst pl, 'die Leberklumpen im ausfließen den Blut, gelibetes Blut'. The word **lifrūm** and the passage in which it occurs are not cited by B-T, Simons, p 92, glosses **lifrūm** as 'blutklumpen, geronnenes blut' and **swælg**, p 131, as 'reichlich fließen'.

1277. **hrā weorces ne sann**. Translate 'His body did not cease from, or have relief from, suffering'. Gn, *Spr* II, 453, glosses **sann**, from **sinnan**, 'reputare, curare, rationem habere alicujus', *Dicht* translates 'die Leiden fühlte kaum noch der wundenmatte Leib'. Kemble translates 'the body thought not of work, weary with wounds', Root as *Dicht*, Hall, 'his wound-weary body was unconscious of suffering,' adding in a note that Andrew 'had swooned from the brutal treatment', B-T, p 877, 'care for, mind, heed,' and Simons, p 124, 'verlangen nach'. The above explanations receive some confirmation from Icel *sinna*, 'mind, care for, give heed to' (Cleas-Vig, p 529), but neither the meaning 'regard' nor 'feel' fits the context in the present passage. There is nothing in the Greek to justify the inference that Andrew was unconscious. A more probable explanation of the word is that offered by Sievers (*PBB* XI, 352-353) *sinnan*, primarily 'go, pass' (cf *Gen* 1853), develops in the two directions 'strive, seek for' (cf *Gu* 290), and 'pass away, cease,' as in the present passage. Sievers would translate, therefore, 'kein aufhören, keine unterbrechung des leid's kam dem wundenmuden leibe'. The same explanation is offered for *Rim Poem* 52 *sār ne sinnið*, 'sein schmerz hort nicht auf'.

1278 **wōpes hring**. The phrase refers to the sound of Andrew's lamentation, and is so understood by most of the commentators. Gm, p 130, translates 'fletus intensissimus, quasi circulatorum erumpens', Gn, *Spr* II, 106, **hring**, 'sonus,' II, 732, **wōp**, 'lamentatio,' etc, *Dicht*, 'des Wehklagens Laute'. B-T follows Gm, and Zupitza and Kent, in the glossary to the same phrase as it occurs in *Elene*, follow Gn, Simons, p 82, also follows Gn, K. translates 'then came the ring of weeping', Root, 'The sound of weeping', Hall, 'a cry of great sorrow'. But Cook, *Christ*, pp 126-127, comparing the phrase as it occurs in *Chr* 537 with the present passage and the two other occurrences of it, *El* 1131 and *Gu* 1313, excludes the notion of sound or noise, and thinks that the phrase means only tears, represented as issuing from the troubled bosom, and gushing from the eyes, the succession of drops may 'be thought of as pearls upon a string, or as beads in a necklace or rosary'. 'Perhaps the idea of **wōpes hring** might be suggested to the modern reader by "circling fountain of tears"'. But this ingenious explanation hardly takes sufficient account of the fact that **wōp** usually signifies sound, tumult, clamor, cf *Spr* II, 732, and cf *herewōp*, Icel *ōp* (Cleas-Vig, p 472), and MnE *whoop*. In the passage in *Andreas*, in particular, **wōpes hring**



appears to be equivalent to **worde cwæð**, l 1280 Cf also *Chr* 992 Again, although the usual meaning of **hring** is 'annulus, cinctus' (cf *Spr* II, 106), the meaning 'sonus' is supported by *Beow* 327 byrnan hringdon, *Sal* 366 searo hringeð **Wōpes hring** might be translated 'a ringing cry', cf the construction **ātres drync**, 53 At any rate tears could hardly be spoken of as coming through the hero's breast, 1279<sup>a</sup> In l 1280<sup>a</sup> the expression is best taken as figurative, see 769<sup>a</sup> The phrase **wōpes hring** is used in *Elene* as an expression of joy, in the other three passages, of grief

1279 **blāt** As noun, this is the only occurrence of **blāt** It is appositive to **hring**, 1278 'then came a ringing cry, a moan, issuing from the breast of the hero'

1284-1286 Cf *Gu* 609-613

ond ic þæt gelyfe in liffruman  
 ēcne onwealdan ealra gesceafta,  
 þæt hē mec for miltsum ond mægenspēdum,  
 niðða nergend, nāfr: wille  
 þurh ellenweorc ānforlætan

1288 Cf *Jul* 119-120 Ic þæt gefremme gif mīn feorh leofað, gif þū untrādes  
 ær ne geswīcest

1291 Cf *Chr* 775 þæt hē ūs gesculde wið sceapan wāpnum

1293-1295 The object of **bysmrian** and **beleggan** is not expressed

1294<sup>a</sup> **fācnes frumbearn**. So also of Satan, *Gu* 1044, cf *godes frumbearn*, 'Christ,' *Sat* 470, *frumbearn*, 'Christ,' *Chr* 507 — 1294<sup>b</sup> So *Gen* 453

1296<sup>b</sup> Cf *Gu* 87 sē atela gāest

1300-1301 Cf *Acts* XXIII, 2 The Greek (Bonnet, p 104, l 1) says merely  
 Τύπτετε αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα ἕνα μὴ λαλήη

1301 Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263, notes that the subject of **reordap** is unexpressed after **nū**

1305 **under niflan næs**. Cf l 1710, *Beow* 1912, and elsewhere frequently, where the word **næs** means 'sea-headland' The sun here, as in l 1457, sets in the ocean Grimm, *Teut Myth* II, 742-743, gives numerous illustrations of this wide spread mythological belief

1306 **brūnwann**. 'Night is described as *brunwann*, a color that can scarcely be distinguished from "dark" Milton twice uses a similar expression

To arched walks of twilight groves  
 And shadows brown that Sylvan loves  
*Il Pens* 133-134

And where the unpierc't shade  
 Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs  
*Par Lost* 4 245'

Mead, *Pub of MLA* XIV, 194 Professor Hart suggests that the compound may be a noun = 'crepusculum' This is the only occurrence of it

1308 **dēor ond dōmgeorn**. Cf *Rid* XXXII, 16 dēor dōmes geom

1309 **sceal**. Tense-sequence would demand **sceolde**

1310<sup>a</sup> Cf *Jul* 238 wārfæst wunade

1311 **seofona sum.** Cf *Legend*, p 123, l 22 Ðæt dēofol þā genam mid him  
 ǫþre seofon dēofo, so also the Greek version, Bonnet, p 104, l 5 Cf *Matt*  
 XII, 45

1312 Cf *El* 901 eatol æclæca yfela gemyndig The combination *atol æglæca*  
 occurs also *Beow* 592, 732, 816, and *Sat* 161

1313 **morðres mānfræa.** So *Jul* 546, *El* 941 — **gescyrded.** ‘Shrouded or  
 enveloped’ Gn, *Spr* I, 449, supposes *gescryded*, ‘vestitus,’ or *gescyrted*? Traut-  
 mann, quoted by Simons, p 60, interprets **gescyrded** = *gescynded* = *gescended*,  
 ‘confusus’? A form *gescyrd* occurs, however, as Cos (*PBB* XXI, 17) points  
 out, in *Eadwines Psalter* (E E T S, No 92), *Ps* XCII, 1, cf B-T, p 438

1315<sup>b</sup> Cf *Jul* 189 hospwordum spræc

1316 Sievers (*PBB* XII, 478) points out that the scansion of the line becomes  
 normal if the name **Andrēas** is omitted

1317 **hwær** Cf Bonnet, p 104, l 10 πῶ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις σου καὶ ὁ φόβος σου, etc

1319 **gild gehnægdest.** Cf Bonnet, p 104, l 13 καὶ ἐποίησας τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν  
*oiklas ἐποίησας γενέσθαι ἡμῶν μὴ ἀνεχθῶσιν θυσίαι ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς τερφθῶμεν*  
 Cf *Jul* 146 þā þū goda ūssa, gield forhogdest

1322 The punctuation here, l 1322<sup>a</sup> in parentheses and a comma after **þīn**,  
 1321<sup>b</sup>, was suggested by Cosijn, *PBB* XXI, 17 The Edd have only a comma  
 after **þīn**.

1323<sup>b</sup> See 1393<sup>b</sup>

1324 **Hērōdes.** See *Introd*, p lviii — 1324<sup>b</sup> So *Beow* 2924

1326–1327 Cf *Jul* 481–483<sup>a</sup> Sume ic rōde bifealh, þæt hī hyra drēorge on  
 hēan galgan lif ālētan, *ibid* 310 þæt hē of galgan his gæst onsende, *El* 480  
 on galgan his gæst onsende K marks the hemstich in l 1327 after **his**

1328–1329 Cf *Jul* 11–12 Fōron æfter burgum swā hē biboden hæfde, þegnas  
 þrýðfulle

1331 **ättre gemæil.** This is the only occurrence of *gemæil* as adjective, but cf  
*Jul* 591 fyre gemæled On the use of poisoned arrows, cf Cook, *Christ*, p 149

1334–1335 Cf *Gu* 377–378 wæron hý rēowe tō ræsanne gifrum grāpum, *Gu*  
 968–969 ac hine ræseð on gifrum grāpum

1335 **hine.** The antecedent is Andrew, cf l 1143

1337–1340 Cf *Legend*, p 123, l 31 and hie gesawon Cristes rōde tācen on  
 his onsiene, hī ne dorston hine genēalæcan, ac hraðe hie on weg flugon

1340 **forhte, afærde.** Construe both as adjectives agreeing with **hīe**, 1339  
 So *Chr* 892, *Ph* 525 forht afæred *Dicht* translates ‘von Furcht besturzt’,  
 K omits **afærde** in text and translation, Root, ‘sorely afraid’, Hall, ‘fearful,  
 affrighted’ Simons, p 42, takes **forhte** with Grein, *Dicht*, as a noun, *Spr* I, 326,  
 however, glosses *forht* in all three of the above passages as adjective Bright  
 regards *forhte* in the parallel passage in the *Christ* (cf Cook’s *Christ*, p 179) as  
 adverb But two coordinate adjectives without connective in the same half-line  
 are occasionally found, e.g 759, *Chr* 953, 993, 1059, 1116, 1193, 1507, etc See  
 494, note — **on flēam numen.** The only occurrence of this form of expression,  
 cf 1386, and *Jul* 630 on flēam sceacan

1342<sup>a</sup> So *Jul* 246

1343 **rucas mīne.** So *Gen* 2880, in direct address

1348 *gā þē sylfa tō* Cf ll 340, 505, 860 But the construction of oblique form with a nominative *sylf*, *sylfa*, is also frequently found, cf Wulfing, I, 355, for numerous examples

1351<sup>a</sup> So *El* 604 — 1351<sup>b</sup> So *Beow* 1469, *Ap* 17 **aldre genēōde**

1352-1356. Translate 'We may easily, dearest of earls, teach thee something better at this sword-play, before thou openly make attack, raise the tumult of battle, no matter how it turn out for thee at the conflict' The better plan which they propose is given in ll 1356 ff Reading **weald þū** with Grimm, K translates 'We may easily, dearest of earls, at the play of men teach thee better, before thou again attempt war, the rush of battle, guard thyself the better in the change of blows' *Dicht* translates 'Leicht mogen wir dir, liebster der Manner, in dem bitteren Kampf zum Besseren raten ehe offen du zum Angriff schreitest, zu dem Waffengraus, sieh wol erst zu, wie dir's beim Gegenschlage gehe' The other translations follow Grein B-T, p 1172, also takes **weald** as imperative of *wealdan*, 'decide thou how it shall happen to thee' The more probable reading is that of Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 17) and Simons, p 150, who take **weald** as conjunction, 'however', for examples cf B-T, p 1171

1355<sup>a</sup>. Cf *El* 19 *wiges wōma*, *Jul* 576 *wiges wōmum*

1358 **wræcsið**. The word here, as in l 1431, is used in the generalized sense of 'affliction, sorrow' Its specific and usual meaning is 'exile,' e.g. *Beow* 338, in *An* 889 it is used in the sense of 'exiled from heaven,' also in *Gu* 595, 1047 Cf B-T, p 1270

1359<sup>a</sup> So *Beow* 425

1361 **witum bewæled**. Cf *Gu* 396 *witum wælan* K translates 'stained with torments', but cf B-T, p 1153, for examples of the word *wælan* in the sense 'torment, afflict'

1367. **hrōðra lēas** Cf *Jul* 390 *hrōþra biðæled*

1368<sup>a</sup> So *Ph* 369

1371 **unfyrn faca**. Cf *Hy* IV, 42 *ful unfyr faca* The scansion of the half-line is  $\underline{\text{L}} \text{ } \underline{\text{L}} \text{ } | \text{ } \cup \text{ } \times$

1376 Supply in sense, with Etmuller, **mæg alýsan**

1377<sup>b</sup>-1385 See *Introd*, p lvii

1379<sup>b</sup> So *El* 771

1380 **in wræc wunne**. The primary meaning of *winnan* is 'to struggle, oppose', from this is developed a passive sense, 'endure, suffer' For examples of the second sense, cf *Chr* 1272, 1428, *Gen* 1014, and for the opposite development, a verb meaning 'to suffer' becoming active, 'to perform, show forth,' cf **ādreogan**, 164, note

1384<sup>a</sup> Cf 1190<sup>a</sup>, note

1393 **hit ne mihte swā** So *Beow* 2091, cf *Rsd* XXX, 6 *gyf hit swā meahste*, and for numerous other examples of omission of infinitive, *Spr* II, 268, and Sievers, *Angha* XIII, 2

1407 **on dægēs tīde** A contrast is evidently intended, Andrew compares his three days of suffering, l 1414, with the one day of Christ's suffering on the cross The *Legend*, p 124, l 17, reads *āne tid on rōde þū þrōwode*, and þū cwæde, 'Fæder, for hwon forlēte þū mē?' Nū in dagas syndon syððan, etc The

Greek version (Bonnet, p 107, l 11) gives three hours as the period of Christ's suffering, following thus *Matt* XXVII, 46 *Dicht* translates 'an enem Tage', K, 'in the day-time', Root, 'that day when from the cross', Hall, 'a day's length'

1413 *hwæt forlætest ðū mē?* Cf *Matt* XXVII, 46

1415<sup>1</sup> So *Jul* 264 — Baskervill and Wulker place a question mark after *wītu* But this is a statement of fact, the question being ended in l 1413<sup>b</sup>

1418-1424 This passage is evidently an elaboration of *Matt* X, 30, which is preserved in *Legend*, p 124, l 23 *Gif gē mē gehyrað*, and *gē mē bēoð fylgende ne ān loc of ēowrum hēafde forwyrð*

1421 *oððeoded*. The word need not be taken as a finite verb, as Gm and Etm suggest, but as a participle, *dæl* being coordinate in construction with *synu* and *bān*

1425 *tōslopen, ādropen*. The only occurrence of *ādropen*, for examples of *tōslopen*, cf *Spr* II, 548, and Sawen, *Eng Stud* XXVI, 130 The misreadings *toslowen, aþrowen*, have been the occasion of much unnecessary discussion

1430 *hlōðrode*. Perhaps the form should be changed to the more usual *hlēoðrode*, but cf l 504, *snōweð* for *snēoweð*

1433 *mundbyrde*. The term *mundbyrd* (see 724, 1632) is a technical one in Anglo-Saxon law It means 'surety' or 'protection,' and definite fines were imposed for the violation of the *mundbyrd* "The king's *mund* seems originally to have been 120 shillings This sum was subsequently doubled" (Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p 125) See Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in AS Law*, p 374 ff, and passim The Loid offers Andrew his safe-conduct

1435 *sōð* Perhaps *sōð* in l 644 is also to be taken as adverb Cf *Spr* II, 462, for other examples

1436 *myclan dæge*. Cf *Chr* 868 *sē micla dæg*, *Jul* 723 on *þām miclan dæge*, so also *Soul* 50, 89 Cf also *Beow* 978 *miclan dōmes*, Wulfstan, ed Napier, p 136 *ondrædon ūs þone micclan dōm and 8ā micclan wita*, p 167 *understandan þone micclan dōm þe wē ealle tō sculan* The phrase is evidently due to a recollection of a Biblical phrase, cf *Joel* II, 11, 'magnus enim dies Domini, et terribilis valde', II, 31, 'veniat dies Domini magnus et horribilis', *Acts* II, 20, 'dies Domini magnus et manifestus,' etc Cf MnE *Great Day*, see *NED* s vv *day* and *great*

1437-1440 See *Matt* V, 18

1441 *swā* = 'where' See 1449, 1582, *Chr* 984, *El* 971, for similar use of *swā*.

1443. *lices lālan*. The emendation is made on the strength of the parallel to *Gu* 670-671 *Ne sý him bānes bryce ne blōdig wund, lices lāla ne lāþes wihht* *Lālan*, acc sg, is thus appositive to *bāngerec*, as in *Gu* it is appositive to *bānes bryce* Cf 1473-1474 K apparently understands *lices lālan* to be an amplification of *blōdige stige*, 1442<sup>b</sup>, he translates 'where thy blood poured forth through the breaking of bones a bloody path, the body's spots' Gn, *Dicht*, takes *lālan* as object of *gesēoh*, 1441 'wo durch Verwundung sich ergoss dem Blut auf die Gefilde! Sieh die blutigen Steige und auch des Leibes Striemen'

1443<sup>b</sup>-1444 Cf *Gu* 284-285 *ne gē mē lāþes wihht gedōn mōtun*

1445 Cf *Jud* 181 *þe ūs monna mæst morðra gefremede*

1447<sup>a</sup> So *Beow* 2753

1449 **blædum gehrodene** Cf *Legend*, p 125, l 4 *geblōwen trēow wæstm berende*

1454 **ān ne forlæte** 'That thou didst not abandon me' See 1287, 1642, 1669 Cf *Ps* CXVIII, 8 *ænne ne forlæte*, *Jul* 104 *ān ne forlæte* W retains the MS reading, regarding it as a form of the present tense, the other Edd change to *forlete*, preterit The form is evidently preterit, but need not be changed cf 802, **forlætan** = **forlēton**, 609, **-hægende** = **-hāgende**

1456-1457 See 1305, note

1458 **feorðān siðe**. Really only the third time The first time is indicated in l 1250, the second in ll 1305 ff, in l 1391 we are told that he was taken out to be tortured for the third time, and the return to the prison would consequently be the third time The *Πράξεις* and the *Legend* simply say that he was taken back again to the prison

1460 **cræfta gehygd**. The phrase is evidently equivalent to **mōð**, l 1461 The Greek (Bonnet, p 108) says merely that they hoped to find Andrew lifeless in the morning *Dicht* 'die Kraft des Mutes,' K 'the thought of power,' Root 'the hero's mighty soul,' Hall 'the doughty spirit, the dauntless courage' A somewhat similar expression is **cræftes miht**, 585, also *El* 558, *Chr* 1145 Dr Blount suggests *cræftigan*, gen sg of *cræftiga*, appositive therefore to **magoræddendes**, l 1461, for **cræfta**

1461<sup>b</sup> So *Jul* 226, 326, 363, 439

1462<sup>b</sup>-1463 Cf *Jul* 242<sup>b</sup>-243 *Ðā cwōm semninga in þæt hlncæced hæleða gewinna*

1464 **sýnne**. The spelling **y** for **i** appears also in **scýna**, 766, **týres**, 105

1467. **hāles**. *Hāl* as noun does not occur, and the form may be taken as adj here, agreeing with **lichoman** K, 'commanded his body to enjoy safety,' Root, 'bade him once again soundness enjoy,' and Simons, p 82, take **hāl** as a noun

1469 **mægene rōf** Also l 1676, cf *Beow* 2084 **mægnes rōf**

1469-1477 Cf *Jul* 589<sup>b</sup>-594<sup>a</sup>

Ðā gēn sīo hālgē stōd  
ungewemde wlite, næs hyre wlōh ne hrægl  
ne feax ne fel fýre gemæled,  
ne lic ne leoþu Hēo in līge stōd  
æghwæs onsund, sægde ealles þonc  
dryhtna Dryhtne

Also *Dan* 437-440

næs hyra wlite gewemmed ne nænig wrōht on hrægle,  
ne feax fýre beswæled, ac hie on frūðe Drihtnes  
of ðām grimman gryre glade treddeðon  
glæawmōde guman on Gastes hylð

1470 Translate 'from his prison he gave thanks unto the Lord, healed of his grievous tortures' A parallel to **heardra wita** occurs in *Jul* 56 *Grein*, *Dicht*, translates this line as follows 'heil von der Haft der harten Qualen', K, 'whole from his captivity, of the savage torments', Root, 'freed from the bondage of his grievous pains', Hall, 'Freed from the baleful bondage of torture' But of

**hæfte** connects logically with l 1469<sup>b</sup>, not with **hāl** or **heardra wīta** **Heardra wīta** is gen pl dependent on **hāl**, as e.g. *Beow* 1974 *heaðolāces hāl*

1474. Apparently there has been a general transposition of the parts of this passage in the MS, it should read **lāðe gelenge nē līces dǣl**. A parallel to **lāðe gelenge** is *Jul* 371 *leahtrum gelenge*, with *līces dǣl* cf. *An* 1421. The sense of the passage is, 'nor bloody wound, of harmful nature, nor part of his body made wet with gore, from sword-wound'. See my note, *Mod Phil* II, 408

1476<sup>b</sup> So *Gu* 898

1477 Fritzsche, *Anglia* II, 441, calls attention to the break in the narrative after l 1477, due, he thinks, either to the fact that the poet grew weary of his subject and laid the poem aside for a time, or that the second part, ll 1478 ff, was written by a different person from the first part. There is nothing in the poem to support either supposition. W, l 1478, note, states incorrectly that Fritzsche, followed by B, assumes an omission in the text after l 1477 (W also gives the line incorrectly as l 1478), but both assume merely a break in the narrative. See *Intro*, p lviii

1478-1487 Translate 'Lo, I now for a time have set forth in words, in song, the story of the saint, the praise of that which he wrought—a story (**wyrd**) famous and beyond my power. Much is yet to tell, a lasting lore, that which he performed in life, all after the beginning. That shall a wiser man upon earth than I count myself find in his heart, that from the beginning he knows all the hardships, the grim conflicts, which he endured.' This passage has been variously punctuated and interpreted. The difficulties, with the main suggestions that have been made, will be considered as they occur in the notes following.

1478 **hāliges lāre**. That is, 'the story of the saint', cf. the equivalent phrase **langsum leorning**, l 1482, and with this cf. *Chr* 44, *Gu* 766 *lāre longsume*. In the *Christ* the allusion is to the fulfilment of prophecy, in *Gu* the words are appositive to *wordum ond weon cum wuldorcynnges*, l 765

1479 *Gm*, p 132, translates this line 'so weit ich bisher den preis des liedes wirkte, dichtete'. But the more probable reading is that of *Gn* (*Spr* II, 574), 'laudem ejus quod ille fecit'. Pogatscher (*Anglia* XXIII, 274) lists this passage as an example, though doubtful, of the omission of a subject after the relative **þe**. The subject of **worhte**, according to this explanation, would be Andrew. Perhaps **hē** should be inserted before **worhte**, at any rate it must be supplied in sense. **Lēoŕgiddinga** is best taken not as gen pl but as inst sg, appositive to **worðum**, 1480<sup>a</sup>. The present and *Ap* 97 are the only occurrences of this compound, *gidding* is also of rare occurrence as simplex.

1480. **wēmde**. Cf. l 740, and *Soul* 64 *wemman mid wordum*. *Gm*, followed by K and B-T, p 1187, explains this word as it occurs in *Andreas* as derived from *wemm*, 'spot, defilement,' a meaning which suits *Soul* 64, but not the other passages. **Wēman**, 'resound, make known,' cf. *Spr* II, 657, may be compared with **wōma**, 'sound, tumult'—W has a period after **undyrne**, thus uniting the phrase **ofer mīn gemet** closely with what follows, so also Hall in his translation. *Cos* (*PBB* XXI, 18) would read with the other Edd **wyrd undyrne, ofer mīn gemet**. Cf. *Ap* 42<sup>b</sup> for the meaning of **wyrd**

1481 **segganne**. See 1160, note



1491<sup>a</sup> Cf *El* 83 heardre hilde, *Fight at Finnesburh* 28 heordra hilda

1492 *fæste*. An adj agreeing with *swēras*, 1493 B, p 77, would retain the MS reading, taking *fæstne* as appositive to *wealle*, he translates 'He wondrously saw by the wall, by the fortress,' etc But neither the syntax of the passage nor the form of the word admits this construction

1493 *under sælwāge*. 'In the hall or prison' B, retaining the MS reading, translates, p 77, 'at the foot of the hall plane', W translates 'aus dem felde heraus, vor der ebene' But, as Cosijn points out (*PBB* XXI, 18), *under sælwange*, as in *Rud* IV, 2, means 'under the earth' A comparison with the Greek justifies the emendation *καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ Ἀνδρέας εἰς μέσον τῆς φυλακῆς εἶδεν στῦλον ἐστῶτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν στῦλον ἀνδριάς ἐπικείμενος ἀλαβαστρινός* (Bonnet, p 109, l 8), and cf *Legend*, p 125, 14-15 *hē geseah on middum þæm carcerne swer standan, and ofer þone swer stænenne anlicnesse* It seems best to take *under* in the sense here of 'in' (cf ll 95, 144, 940, 1005, 1038, 1065, 1071, 1253, and *Spr* II, 618, for other examples) rather than, with Cosijn, *PBB* XXI, 18; in the sense 'dicht unter,' 'close by', the *swēras* are within the prison, and Andrew himself is of course still in the prison, cf 1458 ff

The image mentioned in the *Πράξις* and the *Legend* does not appear in *Andreas*, probably because the poet, following as he does the *Beowulf* (cf *An* 1490-1495, note), conceives of the *swēras* as pillars which hold up the roof of the prison That *sweras* and not *speras* is the right reading is of course confirmed by the reading of the Greek and the prose version

1494 *storme bedrifene*. Cf *Wand* 76 *winde bewaune weallas stondaþ*

1495<sup>a</sup> See 1235, note

1498-1503 Cf *Legend*, p 125, ll 17-21 *Ondræd þē Drihten and his rōde tæcn, beforan þæm forhtigað heofon and eorþe Nū þonne, anlicnes, dō þæt ic bidde on naman mines Drihtnes Hǣlendes Crīstes, send mycel wæter þurh þinne mūþ, swā þæt sien gewemmede ealle þā on þisse ceastre syndon* The change in the poem, of *þinum stapole*, l 1503, was necessary, since the poet omits all mention of an image, cf 1493, note

1500-1501 Grein's interpretation of *heofonas* and *eorðan* as genitives after *fæder* is the correct one Perhaps *heofonas* should be changed to *heofones*, but see 523, note W, note to 1501, takes *heofonas ond eorðan* as amplification of *gesceaft*, 1499, this, however, supposes an improbable plural *eorðan*

The allusion of the passage is to the day of judgment, cf *Vision of the Cross* 103-111

Hē ǰā on heofonas āstāg, hider eft fundað  
 on þysne middangeard mancynn sēcan  
 on dōmdæge dryhten sylfa,  
 ælmihtig God ond his englas mid,  
 þæt hē þonne wile dēman, sē āh dōmes gewæld,  
 ānra gehwylcum, swā hē him ærur hēr  
 on þyssum lænum life geearnaþ  
 ne mæg þær ænig unforht wesan  
 for þām worde, þe sē Wealdend cwyrð!

1504<sup>a</sup> Cf *Gen* 231-232 *Tigms . ēa inlêde* — 1504<sup>b</sup> Perhaps *hǣteð*, 1505<sup>a</sup>, should be placed in this half-line



1507 **wīdrynig**. The only occurrence of the compound

1508 **geofon** See 393, note Retaining the MS reading, Hall translates 'A streaming heaven'

1508-1509 Gm, p 133, 'wie glanzest du von golde!', he cites also NHG 'von golde sem' But K, correctly, 'Lo thou art than gold or gift of treasure more precious' The translations all agree with K

1511 **recene** Translate 'awful mysteries' The form **recene**, not mentioned by B-T, is glossed by Gn, *Spr* II, 370, and Simons, p 113, as adverb, *Dicht* translates 'offenbar,' K, 'at once' But **recene** is better taken as adjective Cf *Ps* CV, 18 *þe on Egyptum æðele wundur and recene wundur on þam Rēadan Sæ*, translating 'Deus qui fecit magnalia in Ægypto, terribilia in Mari Rubro', B-T, p 789, explains the word here as meaning 'coming swiftly and so causing terror,' and cites, in support of this meaning, *fær* and its compounds This meaning is also the one appropriate to the passage in the *Andreas* — 1511<sup>b</sup> Cf *Chr* 671 *reccan ryhte æ*, *El* 280-281 *þā ðe dēoplīcost dryhtnes gerýno þurh rihte æ reccan cūðon*

1514 **swā hit** See 327, note

1515-1516 There is nothing in the sources to account for the mentioning of Joshua and Tobias here The allusion to Joshua, the successor of Moses (cf *Numbers* XXVII, 18 ff), is intelligible, but why should Joshua and Tobias be mentioned together? Professor Hart makes the very plausible suggestion that Tobias is a blunder for Caleb, who is intimately connected with Joshua in the Old Testament narrative, cf *Numbers* XIV, 6, XXXII, 12 The Vulgate spelling of Joshua is *Josue*, of Moses it is *Moyses* in the nom, *Moysen* in the acc, the other forms being *Moysi*, *Moyses*

1520<sup>a</sup> Cf 1586, *El* 86 *þurh þæs hālgan hæs*

1525 **mid ærdæge** Cf 1527<sup>b</sup> There is no allusion to the morning in the *Legend*, but the Παράξεις, p 110, l 9, mentions the time, *πρωλας*

1526 **meoduserwen** The passage is an evident imitation of *Beow* 767-769 *Dēnum eallum wearð eorlum ealuscerwen*, of the Danes on the occasion of Grendel's visit to Heorot In both passages the general idea of **meoduserwen**, *ealuscerwen*, is 'terror,' 'fright,' but the specific meaning or figure is uncertain, Gm, pp xxxvi-xxxvii, taking **scerwen** as participle, settles on the meaning 'effusum,' 'evomitum' the mead or ale was spewed forth as result of the fright K translates *scerpen* of his text by 'spilled' Gn, *Spr* II, 401, glosses *scerwen* as part under *scerwan*, 'vergeuden,' 'verschutten?' *Dicht*, 'der Meth ward vergossen nach dem Schmausgelage' B reads *scerpen* and translates, p 78, 'The mead became sharp,'—i.e. terror arose because the mead became sharp or spoiled after the feast day

Gn, note, suggests holding the two elements of his text, **meodu scerwen**, together as compound, and Bugge, *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik* VIII, 293-295, follows the suggestion of Grein's note, taking the word as compound noun formed like *edwenden* and compounds with *rāden*, in the sense 'mead-pouring,' Gn, 'methvergeudung?' The passage would thus be an ironical allusion to the flood 'there was a sufficient mead-pouring for all after the feast day' Heyne, *Beowulf*<sup>6</sup>, p 93, accepts the word as compound but interprets it

somewhat differently 'ealuscerwen, meoduscerwen' were im eigentlichen Sinne der Gegensatz von *meodu-ræden* (Greim, *Spr* II, 239) und bezeichnete einen plötzlichen Ausgang oder eine plötzliche Wegnahme des Bieres. Das Bild mag schon fruhe verdunkelt sein.' Still another explanation is offered by Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 19), who cites *Cura Pastoralis* 295, 6, *þā lum þæt tīð gescrede was* (translating *digesto vino*), freely translated, 'als der rausch vorüber war.' With *gescrede* Cosijn would connect *-screwen*, 'making, 'dass durch einen plötzlichen schrecken ein zustand von nüchternheit wider eintritt, ist allbekannt die bier- und schlaftrunkenen Danen werden also, wie die Marmedonier nach ihrem hungerschmaus wider nüchtern, der rausch nach dem feste war geschwunden.' Cf the similar situation and phrasing in *Beow* 128-129 *þā was æfter wiste wōp ūþ āhafen, micel morgenswæg*, in which *æfter wiste* is to be taken, with Kock, *Angla* XXVII, 223, and others, in the general sense 'after the feast,' 'after joy,' not as referring to the ravages of Grendel.

1527 *slæpe tōbrugdon*. Cf *Gen* 2665 *þā slæpe tōbrægd*

1531<sup>b</sup> Cf *Ap* 59 *sweodræs fornam*, *Beow* 557 *heapōræs fornam*. See 994<sup>b</sup>, note

1532 *purh sealtne wæg*. See 196, *sealte*, the same mistake being made by the scribe as in the present passage, in l 196 the MS has *s ealte*, with a letter erased after *s*. In the present passage the scribe has omitted to erase the unnecessary letter, probably temporary confusion with forms of *sculan* troubled him. But the passage still contains too many letters. *Sealt* = 'ocean' is not found elsewhere and is not a probable word. Reading *sealtes* as noun, *Dicht* translates 'durch der Salzflut Tosen,' followed by the other translations. As adjective, however, *sealt* (cf *Spr* II, 434) is a conventional epithet as applied to the ocean. Cosijn would change therefore to *sealtne*, retaining *swæg*. But *sealtne swæg* = 'salt noise, tumult,' is meaningless. Evidently, in the general confusion of the scribe, an unnecessary *s* was prefixed to *wæg* = 'wave'. For this spelling, cf 198, 601, 932, and cf *Ex* 333 *ofer sealtne mersc*, *Dan* 323 *geond sealtne wæg*, and *An* 748-749.

1535<sup>a</sup> So *El* 140

1538<sup>b</sup> Cf *Beow* 1292-1293: *wolde ūt banon fēore beorgan*, of Grendel's mother, *El* 134 *flugon on fasten ond fēore burgon æfter stānclifum*, of the heathen Huns, *Mald* 193-194 *þone wudu sōhton, flugon on þæt fasten and hyra fēore burgon*, of the traitorous Godrinc and Godwig.

1539<sup>b</sup> So *Gen* 1818, *Ph* 416 *drohtað sōhton*

1540 *eorðan ond wist*. A second form of the word *ondwist* occurs *Ex* 16-18 *þær him gesealde sigora waldend onwist eðles Abrahames sunum*. Cf the compound *nāwest, wist*. Perhaps the form in the *Andreas* should be changed to agree with that in the *Exodus*, but *ond, and,* is of frequent occurrence in similar compounds — 1540<sup>b</sup> Cf *Legend*, p 125, l 27 *send mē þinne engel of heofonum on fyrenum wolcne*, and l 30 *fyren wolcen āstāh of heofonum*. Note the realism of the description of the fire in the *Andreas*, and see Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p 96 ff, for a discussion of this theme in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

1541 **blācan līge.** 'Blāc is merely an ablaut form of the stem *blīcan*, 'to shine,' and perhaps hardly means white at all. In a few cases it evidently means pale or ghastly. It is properly applied to the fire, or the fire-light, and even to the red flame, or to the lightning, or to the light of stars. Of the twenty-eight instances where the word occurs—either alone or as part of a compound,—nearly all seem to lay emphasis on the brightness rather than on the whiteness' Mead, *Pub of MLA* XIV, 177

1542<sup>a</sup> Cf *Beow* 2819 *hāte heaðowylmas*, *Gen* 324 *hātne heaðowelm*, *El* 579 *hāttost heaðowelma* Cf also *Beow* 2522 *heaðofyres hātes*, *ibid* 2547 *heaðofyrum hāt*

1545 **wadu hlynsodon** Gn, *Dicht*, translates 'die Wasser rauschten,' but *Spr* II, 745, he glosses *wudu*, nom pl for the present passage, with the meaning 'arbor,' and *Spr* II, 89, inconsistently, *wadu*. Reading *wudu* with W, Hall translates 'wood snapped and crackled'

1547<sup>a</sup> So *Gen* 1993, *Beow* 138, *Ex* 579 *þā wæs ēaðfynde*

1548 **gehðo mǣndan** Cf 1665, *Chr* 90 *gehþum mǣnað*, *Jul* 391 *gehðu mǣnan*, *Beow* 2267 *glohðo mǣnde*

1549 **forhtferð** Cf 1596, and *Rid* XVI, 13, *forhtmōd* — **fūslēoð gōlon.** Cf *Gu* 1320 *fūslēoþ āgōl*, *Chr* 623 *fūslēoð galan*

1550<sup>a</sup> So *Ph* 522

1551 **heretēam** Translate, with B-T, p 533, 'plundering,' 'devastation' Gm, and Grein, *Dicht*, take the word in the sense of 'plundering expedition'

1555 **earmlīc ylda gedræg** Cf *Chr* 999 *earmlīc ælda gedreag*, and *An* 43, note

1555<sup>b</sup>-1556 Cf *Beow* 100-101 *oððæt ān ongan fyrene fremman*, *Beow* 2210-2211 *oððæt ān ongan deorcum nihtum draca rīcsan* — 1556<sup>a</sup> Cf *Hy* IV, 112 *fēasceaft hæle*

1557 Cf *Beow* 2408 *hæft hygegōmor sceolde hēan ðonon*, *Chr* 994 *hēane hygegōmre*

1558-1559 Cf *Jul* 341<sup>b</sup>-342 *Nū þū sylfa meaht on sefan þinum sōð gecnāwan þæt ic*, etc

1561 **sēo wyrd.** See 613<sup>b</sup>, note

1562 **þæt is hēr swā cūð.** *Haleðum cūð*, as Cosijn points out (*PBB* XXI, 20), would mean 'universally, everywhere known,' a meaning which does not suit here, *hēr swā cūð* he translates 'das ist hier deutlich genug' W regards the metrically imperfect line as characteristic of the work of the poet of the *Andreas*

1563 **þæs þe ic sōð talge.** So *Beow* 532, *Chr* 794

1565 **ealle ānmōde.** So 1601, *El* 1117 For the meaning cf *Eadwinn's Psalter* (EETS No 92) LXVII, 6 *Ðū sōðlice man ānmōd*, translating *tu vero homo unanims* See 54, note — 1565<sup>b</sup> So *Beow* 256, *Ex* 293 Cf *Beow* 3007 ff *Nū is ofost betost þæt wē*, etc

1566 Cf *Aþ* 90

1571 **þær.** Perhaps one should read **þæt.**

1574 So *Beow* 847

1579<sup>a</sup> Cf *Jul* 131 *glēaw ond Gode lēof*, *Gu* 1035 *glædmōd*, *Gode lēof*

- 1581 **smeolt wæs se sigewang** So *Ph* 33, *Gu* 714
- 1585 **geofon**. B, p 78, retaining **heofon**, translates 'the lamentation ceased', 'these words,' he says, 'continue the thought in **pā wæs . . æfter gyrne**' Cf ll 1615, and 465, 533
- 1589 **flōd fæðman**. So *Beow* 3133
- 1591 **bisencte** The only occurrence of the prefix **bi-** in the poem
- 1596<sup>a</sup> See 1549
- 1598 **Ōrāge hnāgran**. Genitive after **wēndan**
- 1599 **māne faa**. So *Beow* 978 maga māne fāh
- 1602 **Ōæt þe** The usual form of this conjunction is **þætte**, cf *Spr* II, 572
- Cf the pronoun **Ōætte**, l 546
- 1603 Cf *Chr* 687 **cynung alwihta cræftum weorðað**
- 1604 As the line stands, the alliteration is defective Perhaps one should read **þider** or **þyder** for **hider**, the action being conceived of from the point of view of the one who sends
- 1606 **gumcystum** Translate as adverb, 'virtuously,' 'righteously,' or with B-T, p 492, as adv phrase, 'with virtuous zeal' **Gumcyst** is found a number of times with adjectives, e.g. *Beow* 1486 **gumcystum gōdne**, *Gen* 1769 **gumcystum gōd**, *ibid* 1810 **gumcystum til** No other example of the adverbial use of **gumcystum** is recorded, but cf *Wid* 56 **hū mē cynegōde cystum dohten** K translates **gumcystum** as adj, 'that we this excellent man should gladly hear' But there is no authority for an adj **gumcyst** Cf 1639 for another example of the absolute use of **hýran** (Kittredge)
- 1609 **curen**. The verb is plural to agree with the collective subject **cynn**, 1610
- 1610<sup>b</sup>. So *Ap* 71<sup>b</sup>, *Chr* 1540 **swylt þrowiað**
- 1612 **gif gē teala hycgað**. Cf *Beow* 289 **sē þe wel þenceð**, likewise in a didactic passage See 458-460, note
- 1616<sup>b</sup>. So *Ap* 58, *Gen* 1739, *Men* 133, **feorh seleð**, *Beow* 1370
- 1617 **gōde orfeorme**. Cf 406, note
- 1618 **in wita forwyrd**. So *El* 764, *Sermon on Ps 28* (*Bibl* II, 108) 10, *Jul* 556 — 1618<sup>b</sup> So *Gu* 116
- 1619 **in fēonda geweald**. Cf ll 1273, 1317 The phrase of l 1619 is also found in *Beow* 808, 903, *Chr* 1416, *Jul* 159 — **gefered ne wurdan** Not a Christian-like prayer as the MS reads
- 1621 **hālliges gāstes**. See 1000, note
- 1626<sup>b</sup> So *Ap* 25, **mīne gefrāge**, *Beow* 776, 837, 1955, 2685, 2837, *Gen* 1173, *Ex* 368, *Ph* 176, *Wid* 71, *Eadgar* 9, 34, *Men* 27, *Metr* XX, 82, XX, 248
- 1627 Cf *Beow* 835-836 **þær wæs eal geador Grendles grāpe** For the omission of the initial *g*, cf *Gen* 2557 **eall eador**, and see *Gram*, § 212, note 2, *PBB* IX, 208 One expects here a plural verb, agreeing with **eaforan**, l 1627, and **hīe**, l 1628, but apparently for the moment the poet thinks of the members of the throng individually — 'each was then all united both body and soul' Cf *El* 887-889

hē sōna ārās

gāste gegearwod, geador bū samod  
lic ond sǣwl

**1628-1629** Note the rime *ǣr f̄ǣr*, also the rime in l 1631 In l 1627 there is assonance of the four stressed vowels *ea*, in l 1624 of the three vowels *eo*, the fourth being *ea*, almost an assonance

**1629** Cf *Jul* 477-478<sup>a</sup> *þæt hī færinga feorh ālēton þurh ædra wylm*

**1633** *cynnges cræftiga* Cf Bonnet, p 114, ll 9-10 *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐχάραξε τύπον ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐποίησεν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, and *Legend*, p 127, ll 5-7 And æfter þissum sē hālgā Andrēas hēt cyrican getimbrān on þære stōwe þær sē swer stōd These passages show that *mōdiga*, l 1632, and consequently *cræftiga*, l 1633, must refer to Andrew, *cynnges*, l 1633, meaning God K, reading *cræftigra*, translates 'then commanded the bold one, than a king more powerful', Grein's suggested reading *cræftigan* makes the word accusative — 'then the valiant one commanded the king's architect,' etc, but this reading is not carried over into *Spr* I, 168, as W, note to l 1633, states, the word there being glossed *cræftiga*, nom sg Cf *Chr* 11-14

Nū is þām weorce þearf

þæt sē Cræftga cume and sē Cyning sylfa,  
and þonne gebēte — nū gebrosnad is —  
hūs under hrōfe

**1635** *þurh fæder fulwiht* Grein's emendation *fultum*, accepted by Simons, p 46, is a slight improvement, in the sense of the passage, but the change is not necessary, cf ll 1630-1631

**1636<sup>b</sup>** So *El* 271

**1637<sup>b</sup>** So *Chr* 394, *Gu* 854, *Gen* 10, *Vision of the Cross* 81, *Ps* LVI, 6, LVI, 13, sīde and wīde, *El* 277, *Gen* 118, *Ph* 467

**1640** *fullwihtes bæð*. So *El* 490, 1032, *Sat* 546

**1643** Cf *El* 889-890 *þær wæs lof hafen fægær mid þy folce*

**1645<sup>a</sup>**. So *Chr* 1066, *Gu* 1286

**1647** *se ær* The change from the MS *sio* is probably necessary but cf *Gram*, § 337, note 2

**1649<sup>a</sup>** So (*in, tō*) *Chr* 519, *Jud* 327, *El* 821

**1650** Sc, *hne gehālgode*

**1651** *þurh apostolhād* The phrase refers to Andrew, not Platan, cf Hall, 'Through his [Andrew's] power as apostle (he was Platan entitled)' — **Plātan** No mention whatever is made of the appointing of a bishop in the *Πράξις*, cf Bourauel, p 84 But the *Legend*, p 127, ll 9-10, reads And ænne of heora aldormannum tō bisceope hē hm gesette, and hē [Andrew] hī gefullode and cwæð, 'Nū þonne ic eom geaio þæt ic gange to mīnum discipulum' The name Platan was evidently derived from the lost Latin source of the poem It is found frequently in the *Martyrium Matthæi*, Bonnet, pp 217-262, in the Latin version in the form Plato (cf p 228, l 22), in the Greek version in the form Πλάτων (cf p 222, l 14), as the name of the bishop of the Mermedonians Cf Lipsius, I, 616 For the quantity of the word, see Sievers, *PBB* X, 493

**1654** *Sægde his fūsne hige = sægde þæt his hige fūs wære*, for similar construction with *secgan*, cf *Gu* 90, *Chr* 137, *El* 588 See also l 1664<sup>b</sup>

**1656<sup>a</sup>**. Cf *Rid* LXIV, 1 Oft ic secga seledrēame sceal fægære onþeon.

1659 *weorc* 'That was to the band a grief to endure' Gm, Gn *Spr* II, 677, B-T, p 1199, all retain the MS reading *weor* as positive degree of *wyr*s, the present being the only occurrence of the form W, l 1659, note, would change to *weorce*, adj, citing *Beow* 1417 *weorce* on mōde tō geþohanne, *Gen* 2791 *weorce* on mōde, also *weorce*, *Jul* 72, 135 But these constructions are not parallel to the present passage, and as Sievers (*Zft f d Phil* XXI, 358) points out, *weorce* in such constructions as *weorče on mōde* is primarily adverbial, the adjective form should be *wyrce* The right reading *weorc* was suggested by Kluge, *Anglia* IV, 106, and is accepted by Bright, *MLN* I, 11, and Cosijn, *PBB* XXI, 20 Kluge points out the parallel passage in *Jul* 569 *þæt þām weligan wæs weorc tō þohanne*

1660-1661 *Hie* is object of *gewunian*, for other examples of this construction, cf *Beow* 22, *Ph* 481

1663 Comparison with the *Legend* and the *Πράξεις* shows that the omission in the MS here is inconsiderable, the *Legend*, p 127, ll 19-27, reads *Him ætīwde Drihten Hǣlend Crīst on þām wege on ansīne fægere cildes, and him tō cwæð, 'Andrēas, for hwam gæst þū swā būton wæstmne þīnes gewinnes, and þū forlēte þā þe þē bǣdon, and þū nǣre miltsiende ofer heora cild þā þe þē wǣron fylhende and wēpende? þāra cūm and wōp tō mē āstāh on heofonas Nū þonne hwyrf eft on þā ceastre, and bēo þær seofon dagas, oþ þæt þū gestrangie heora mōd on minne gelēafan'* This passage is a close translation of the *Πράξεις*, p 115, ll 6-13 B, reading as the MS, without interruption, places l 1664<sup>b</sup> within parentheses and remarks (p 78) 'As the MS shows no vacant space, I have endeavored to get the following out of this passage Then to him the God of glory appeared on the journey, and this word spoke the Lord of hosts "The people in consequence of their evil deeds (their mind is ready (for death?)) go mourning, they lament their grief, men and women together, their weeping goes hastening forth, their mourning mood etc makes itself heard"' B<sup>2</sup>, p 96, retains this reading, remarking, in answer to W's objection that l 1664<sup>b</sup> refers to the departure of Andrew 'is *him fūs hyge*, their mind is sad, does refer to the departure of Andrew For *fūs* = sad, tristis, see *Sprachschatz* I, 359, under *fūs* Grein quotes this passage and understands it as I do But he is mistaken, I think, in supposing that they are not also sad "on account of their sins" (of *firenum*) What would be so likely to occur to them on the eve of his departure as the remembrance of their former evil deeds and unholy lives, from which they had been rescued by Andrew? Hence they thought if he should leave them they should relapse into their former sinful state' But the MS is plainly defective here Grein, *Dicht*, supplies two lines after l 1663

Warum verlasset du die Leute denn so schnell,  
Da kaum erst ist bekehrt von seinen Sunden —

Root follows Grein, K and Hall do not fill in the passage

1664 *folc of firenum*. In the complete form this phrase was probably part of an interrogative sentence See the corresponding passage of the *Legend*, 1663, note — W retains the MS reading *his* = *is* on the ground that the form *his* is sometimes found in the Kentish dialect, but *his* is here more probably a scribal

error, cf l 323<sup>b</sup>, where **is** is written for **his** — **fūs**. K, B (cf 1663, note), Root, and Hall translate 'ready for death', but Grein, *Dicht*, 'Thnen ist freudlos der Sinn'. Other instances are given *Spr* I, 359

1666<sup>a</sup> So *Jud* 163

1667 **murnende mōd**. So *Beow* 50, *Rid* I, 15

1668 **mē fore snēowan** Cosijn's reading is confirmed by the *Legend*, p 127, l 24 þāra cirn and wōp tō mē āstāh on heofonas For the order of words, cf *El* 577, *Jul* 277 **mē fore standap** It is probable, however, that **mē** is only part of the omitted passage, there is nothing in the *Andreas* to correspond to the phrase on heofonas of the *Legend*, and the alliteration in the half line **mē fore snēowan** should fall on **f**, not **m**, as comparison with *El* 577, *Jul* 277, cited above, and *Gu* 217 *swā ic ēow fore stonde*, proves An omission is therefore indicated after l 1667<sup>a</sup> For the construction of **snēowan**, cf l 242

1669 **ēowde**. There is no equivalent to this word in the *Legend* or the *Πράξις*, the figurative use of **ēowde**, meaning the Christian congregation, aside from the translations of the *Psalms*, is found elsewhere in the poetry only in *Chr* 257

1670 **nīowan**. Lichtenfeld, p 364, finds only one other example of a weak adj after *swā* *Mald* 319, *be swā lēofan men* **Swā** has here almost demonstrative force

1677<sup>b</sup>–1678<sup>a</sup> See 568<sup>b</sup>–569<sup>a</sup>

1679 **sāwon**. The subject is unexpressed after **syōðan** (Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263)

1681 **tīrēadigra** The word is a genitive dependent on **weorod**, 1682 Grein, *Dicht*, reading **tīr ēadigra**, translates 'Er unterwies drauf die Leute in dem Weg zum Glauben, glanzvoll begründend *der Beglückten Ruhm*', Hall follows Grein, 'To the saints' honor [Andrew] added mightily' K and Root take the word as compound, so also Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 20)

1685 **in þrinnesse þrymme**. So *El* 177, *Chr* 599, *Gu* 618, *Jud* 86 For the quantity of **þrinnesse**, cf *Gram*, § 230, note 1

1686 **in woruld worulda** So *Ps* LXXVIII, 14, CX, 5 (and frequently, translating *in saeculum saeculi, in saecula saeculorum*), *El* 452, *þurh woruld worulda* occurs *Chr* 778 and *Ph* 662 The whole passage, ll 1683–1686, is an evident reminiscence of the closing formula usually found at the end of sermons, as in the following examples from the Wulfstan homilies **Ān is ælmihtig God on þrȳm hādum, þæt is Fæder and Suna and Hālig Gāst, ealle þā þrȳ naman befēhð ān godcund miht and is ān ēce God, waldend and wyrhta ealra gesceafta Him symle sȳ lof and weorðmynt in ealra worulda woruld ā butan ende, amen** (Wulfstan, ed Napier, p 107), **bidan wē þæt wē magan and mōtan becuman tō vām ēcan life þæs heofoncundlīcan rīces, v̅ær wē mōtan ā orsorhlice libban and rixjan mid v̅urum Hællende and mid eallum his hālgum, mid Fæder and mid Suna and mid þām Hālgan Gāste ā in ealra worulda woruld ā butan ende, amen** (ibid p 215), **wē wæron þider gehātene and gelaðede tō v̅ām hālgan hām and tō v̅ām cynelīcan fr̅ostōle, þær Drhten Crīst wunað and rixað mid eallum hālgum sāwlum aa butan ende in ealra worulda woruld, amen** (ibid p 265) For other examples, cf Wulfstan, pp 87, 190, 205, 242, 291, and the *Blicking Homilies*, and the homilies

of Ælfric Kluge, *Eng Stud* VI, 324, commenting on the concluding passage of the *Seafarer*, points out its similarity to the set form found at the end of sermons, citing examples from the *Blackling Homilies*. Cf also *Hy* IV, 43-47 (*Bibl* II, 110), and *Ap* 107, note

1687 **herigeas**. This whole passage, ll 1687-1694, is the addition of the poet, the *Ἠράξεις* says merely *καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ διδάσκων καὶ ἐπιστη-ρῖζων αὐτοῦς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν* (Bonnet, p 116, ll 9-11), the *Legend* (p 128, ll 5-7) repeats the *Ἠράξεις* and *hē þær wunode mid him seofon dagas, lærende and strangende hira heortan on gelēafan ūres Drihtnes Hǣlendes Crīstes*. The word *herig*, the more usual form of which is *hearg*, *hearh*, is used in both the senses 'idol' and 'heathen temple,' see B-T, p 522. The allusion to **helltrafum**, 1691, indicates that the word is to be taken in the second sense here. The exact meaning of the word in the sense 'temple' has been much discussed, see *Chr* 485, and Cook's note, Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, p 590ff, De la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, tr Vos, pp 355-362, Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp 440-444

1688 Cf *El* 1040 *dēofulgildum, ond gedwolan fyldē*

1689 **geþohenne**. See 1160, note

1690<sup>a</sup> So *Jul* 718

1693<sup>a</sup>. See 593<sup>1</sup>, note

1694-1695 Perhaps a recollection of *Beow* 1402-1404 *Lāstas wæron after waldswaþum wīde gesýme, gang ofer grundas*, where the allusion is to Grendel's mother

1696 **dagas on rīme** So *Gu* 1108 Cf l 1673, and l 1687, note

1697 **wederburg** 'Pleasant city' This is the only occurrence of the word. It is glossed by Gn, *Spr* II, 654, 'dem Wetter ausgesetzte Burg', *Dicht* translates 'die Wetterburg', K, 'the city of storms', B-T, p 1182, 'a town exposed to storms, a weather-beaten city'. But *weder* means specifically not only 'bad weather,' 'storm,' but also 'good weather,' 'warm weather', see the examples cited by B-T, p 1182. Cf *wedes* also in compounds **wedercandel**, 'sun,' 372 and *Ph* 187, *wearme wederdagas*, *Az* 96, *wæðertācen*, 'sun,' *Gu* 1267, *wederwolcen*, *Ex* 75, the pillar of fire which guided the children of Israel. The compound **wederburg**, since the poet is here giving a favorable description of the city of the Mermedonians, means 'city exposed to (pleasant) skies'. Cosijn (*PBB* XXI, 20) and Simons, p 150, define the word as 'sun-city,' but there is no warrant for assigning the meaning 'sun' to *weder*. In using the epithet the poet may have thought of Mermedonia as situated in Ethiopia, cf **Ælmyrcna**, 432 and note, and *Ap* 64 **mid Sigelwarum**

1698 Cf *El* 225-226 *Ongan þā öfstlice eorla mengu tō flote fýsan*

1699<sup>a</sup> So *El* 1137, *Ph* 126, 592, *Gu* 1079

1702-1705 The poet looks forward to the martyrdom of Andrew, cf *Ap* 16-22

1704 **syððan** The metre of the half-line demands the full form **syððan**, the MS form **syð** occurs only in this passage, although the form **syððan** is found twenty-one times in the poem. See *Introd*, p xlviii

1709 **hāt æt heortan** So *El* 628, *Gu* 1182, 1310, *Chr* 500, 539



1710-1722 This description of the departure of Andrew is considerably elaborated in the poem, neither in the *Πράξεις* nor the *Legend* is there any mention of a journey by water. The *Πράξεις* (Bonnet, p. 116, ll. 11-15) reads *καὶ πληρωθέντων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸν μακάριον Ἀνδρέαν, συνήχθησαν πάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ παιδίου ἕως πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ προέπεμψαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες* *Εἰς θεὸς Ἀνδρέου, εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν*. The *Legend* (p. 128, ll. 8-14) follows the *Πράξεις* closely, except that the city of the *ἀντὶν ὀρόφῃ* is mentioned by name. *Mid þi þe þā wæron gefyllede seofon dagas, swā swā him Drihten bebēad, hē fērde of [Mar]madonia ceastre efstende tō his discipulum. And eall þæt folc hine lædde mid gefēan, and hīe cwædon, 'Ān is Drihten God, sē is Hǣlend Crīst, and sē Hǣlga Gāst, þām is wuldor and gewæld on þære Hǣlgan þrynnesse þurh ealra worulda woruld sōðlice ā būtan ende Amen.'*

In the poem, l. 1718, *ofer middangeard*, is antithetic to l. 1720, *in heofonþrymme*, the latter phrase being paralleled by l. 1721, *on wuldre*, for this sense of *wuldor*, cf. l. 356, note. In l. 1722 *mid englum* is parallel to *hālgum*, l. 1720.

1713 *æðelunga wunn*. Cf. l. 1223, note. The form *wunn* is late, cf. *Gram*, § 72, note, and see *Ap* 42, *wurd*.

1714 *ofer seolhpaðu*. Cosijn rejects both *-paðu* and *-waðu*, reading *seolhbaðu*, with *Rid* XI, 11 *ofer seolhbabo*, on the ground that *pað* is masculine, but cf. l. 788, *ofer mearcpaðu*.

1722 *Ðæt is æðele cyning*. The phrase is reminiscent both of the opening of the *Beowulf*, cf. l. 11 *þæt wæs gōd cyning* (cf. *El* 13<sup>b</sup>, *hē wæs riht cyning*), and of the close, ll. 3179-3183

Swā begnornodon Gēata lēode  
hlāfordes hryre, heorðgenēatas,  
cwædon þæt hē wære wyruldcyninga,  
manna mildust ond monþwærust,  
lēodum līðost and lofgeornost

Cf. also *Beow* 1885 *þæt wæs ān cyning*, *Hy* III, 120 *swilc is mære cyningc*, also at the end of the poem, *Panther* 74<sup>b</sup> *þæt is æþele stenc*, *Jul* 224<sup>b</sup> *þæt is sōð cyning*, and the concluding passage in *Sat*, 295-298

Swā wuldres weard wordum herigað  
þegnas ymb þēoden, þær is þrym micel,  
sang æt selde is sylf cyning,  
ealra aldor in ðære ēcan gesceft

## THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

1 ff For the epic formula, cf *An* 1, note Sievers (*PBB* IX, 134) points out the general similarity of the opening of the *Ap* to the opening of the *Beow*, inferring from the genitive of l 8<sup>a</sup>, dependent on l 6<sup>b</sup>, that the poet of the *Ap* read in the parallel passage in the *Beow* a genitive *eaferan*, l 19, and not a nominative *eafera*, as the MS reads. The poet again alludes to his sources in ll 23, 63, and 70

1<sup>b</sup> *siðgēomor*. Brandl (*Archiv* C 330-334) understands this word literally, 'reisesorgend,' and takes the poem, as a whole, as a traveler's charm. He compares it with the charm printed in *Bibl* I, 328-330, and supposes that the story of the fates of the Apostles was chosen as the subject of the body of the poem because the Apostles had all traveled widely. He considers it, therefore, as an independent poem which follows a native literary tradition. 'Die Gattung der Reisesegen war eine altgermanische, wir finden sie, samt der dafür charakteristischen Ausmalung der Beschützer, im Ahd und Altn (vgl Kogel, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* I, 2, 158 ff), Cynewulf hat ihr wohl nur einen höheren Ton und christlicheren Sinn gegeben' (p 331). But Brandl surely was not acquainted with the sources of the poem, or with the type of ecclesiastical composition to which it belongs, for comparison of the poem with the approximate sources, and with related forms, deprives his theory even of its slight degree of probability. — For the meaning of *fund*, cf *An* 1485, note K connects l 2<sup>a</sup> with 2<sup>b</sup>, placing a comma after *fund*, but cf the examples given under *An* 1485, to which add *Soul* 133 *funden* on *ferhðe*, *Gen* 266 *æt his hige findan*

2. Cf *Gu* 1050 *ne bēo þū on sefan tō seōc* — *samnode wīde*. Cf *Ph* 547 *lēoð somnige, wīte wōðcræfte*

3 Cf *Beow* 3 *hū ðā æpelngas ellen fremedon*, *Beow* 2695 *ellen cýðan*

4<sup>a</sup> Cf *An* 2, *Partridge* 10 *torhte tīrēadge*

5<sup>b</sup>. Cf *dryhtne gecoren*, *Dan* 150, 736, *Gen* 1818

6<sup>b</sup> Cf *Beow* 18 *blæd wīde sprang*, *ibid* 1588 *hrā wīde sprong*, *Jnl* 585 *lēad wīde sprong*

8<sup>a</sup> Cf *An* 3, note

9<sup>a</sup> Cf l 90, and *Ex* 382, 568, *hālige hēapas*, of the children of Israel

10 Cf *An* 1194, and note

11 *Rōmebyrig*. Simons also, p 115, separates the elements of this word, but the combinations *Rōme*, *Rōma-burh* are frequent in the prose, see B-T, p 801, for examples

11<sup>b</sup>-15 Cf *Men* 120-130<sup>a</sup>

Wide is geweorðod, swā þæt wel gerīst,  
hālgra tīd geond hæløða bearn

Petrus ond Paulus Hwæt! lā apostolas,  
 þēoden holde, þrowedon on Rome  
 ofer midne sumor miccle gewisse  
 furðor fif nihtum folcbealo þrēalīc,  
 mǣrne martyrdōm Hæfdon mænige ær  
 wundra geworhte geond wærþēoda,  
 swylce hī after þām unrīm fremedon  
 swutelra ond gesynra þurh sunu meotudes  
 ealdorþegnas

11-22 The subject proper of the poem begins with l 11 There is an evident reminiscence of the theme of *The Fates of the Apostles* in *Jul* 302-311, in a passage in which Satan gives a list of his evil deeds

Nēþde ic nearobregdum, þær ic Neron biswēac,  
 þæt hē ācwellan hēt Cristes þegnas  
 Petrus and Paulus Pilatus ær  
 on rōde āhēng rodera waldend  
 meotud meahtigne mīnum lārum  
 Swylce ic Egnas ēac gelærde,  
 þæt hē unsnytrum Andreas hēt  
 āhōn hālgne on hēanne bēam,  
 þæt hē of galgan his gæst onsende  
 in wuldres white

A ME version of the whole subject is found in *Cursor Mundi*, ed Morns, App I, vol III, p 1587

12<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow* 1641, 2476, cf *An* 8

13 **þurg.** See *An* 769<sup>b</sup>, note — 13<sup>b</sup> Cf *El* 1108 þurh nearusearwe

14<sup>b</sup> Note the strong demonstrative force of sē, cf *An* 613, 1561

15 Cf *An* 543, and note

16-22 Cf *Men* 215-218<sup>a</sup>

ond þas embe seofon niht sigedrihtne lēof  
 æþele Andrēas ūp on roderum  
 his gæst-āgeaf, on Godes wære  
 fūs on forðweg

17<sup>b</sup> Cf *An* 1351<sup>b</sup> and note

19<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 200, *Ph* 136

21<sup>b</sup> So *An* 1202, *El* 205 Cf *An* 1271<sup>b</sup>, note

22<sup>a</sup> So *Chr* 573 — 22<sup>b</sup> So *An* 966

23-33<sup>a</sup> Cf *Men* 115<sup>b</sup>-119

þænne wuldres þegn  
 ymb þrēotýne, þēodnes dýrling,  
 Iohannes in gēardagan wearð ācenned,  
 tyn nihtum ēac wē þā tid healdað  
 on midne sumor mycles on æþelum

24 **æglæawe.** Cf *An* 802, **forlætan** = **forlētton** — **æðelo reocan.** John was the son of Zebedee and the brother of James (cf *Matt* IV, 21) K, Gn, and W have only a comma after **reocan**, but the force of sē, l 25, is demonstrative rather than relative

25<sup>a</sup> Cf *An* 262, 885 — 25<sup>b</sup> Cf *An* 1626<sup>b</sup>, note

26<sup>b</sup> **Crīste lēofast.** See *John* XIII, 23, XIX, 26, XXI, 7, 20, and *Introd.*, p xxx

27<sup>a</sup> So *El* 72

28<sup>a</sup> See *An* 146<sup>a</sup>, note

29<sup>a</sup> Cf *Ch* 425 þurh his mōdor hrf

30<sup>b</sup> So *Jud* 237, *Wid* 88, *Ps* CI, 25

31 Cf *An* 170

32 Cf *An* 641 and note, and, for the phrase **sīðe gesōhte**, *An* 845<sup>a</sup>, note — 32<sup>b</sup> As a descriptive epithet **swegl** usually occurs as the first element in compounds (see *Spr* II, 504) But **swegledrēamas**, as K reads, is impossible, the form should be **swegl-**, or **swegeldrēamas** **Swegl** as adj occurs once, however, beside the present passage, *Beow* 2749 **swegle searogimmas**

33<sup>a</sup> Cf *An* 524, note

33<sup>b</sup>-37<sup>a</sup> James and John, according to *Matt* IV, 21, were the sons of Zebedee James was put to death by Herod (*Acts* XII, 1-2) See below, ll 70-74, note Cf *Men* 130<sup>b</sup>-136<sup>a</sup>

þænne ædre cymð

emb twā niht þæs tidlice ūs  
Iulus mōnað, on þām Iacobus  
ymb fēower niht feorh gesealde,  
ond twēntigum, trum in brēostum,  
frōd ond fæstræd folca lārēow,  
Zebedes afera

34. Cf *An* 204, note — **sweordes bite** Cf *Beow* 2060 æfter billes bite, *ibid* 2259 bite irena, *Jul* 603 þurh sweordbite

37<sup>b</sup>-41 In the *Menologium*, ll 80-82, Philip and James, brother of Jesus, are mentioned together

Swā þi ylcan dæge æþele gefēran,  
Philippus ond Iacob feorh āgēfan,  
mōdige magoþegnas for meotudes lufan

40-41 Cf *El* 179-180 on galgan wearð godes āgen bearn āhangen

42<sup>b</sup> **wurd.** The MS reading is supported by *An* 1713, **wunn** Cf also *An* 1480.

43<sup>b</sup>. **aldre gelædde.** Grein's suggestion, *genēðde* for **gelædde**, is repeated by Simons, p 56 The construction is plainly influenced by the construction with *genēðan*, which regularly takes the instrumental But the construction *gelæddan* with the instrumental probably resulted from the use of *gelæddan* in the sense of *genēðan*, as in *Gen* 1911 Forðon wit læddan sculon, tēon wit of þisse stōwe, ond unc staðolwngas rūmor sēcan

44<sup>a</sup>. So *Craft* 40

46<sup>b</sup>. So *Jul* 604

47. **hýran.** A more appropriate word would be **herian**, 'praise,' parallel to **weorðian**, l 48 Klaeber, *Modern Philology* II, 146, makes the same suggestion.

48<sup>a</sup> Cf *Dan* 208 ne þysne wīg wurðigean.

50-62 Cf *Men* 221-225

Swylce emb eahta ond twelf  
 nihtgerimes, þætte Nergend sylf  
 þristhýdigum Thomase forgeaf  
 wið eaifeðum ðce rice  
 bealdum beornwigan bletsunga his

51 The phrase *ððre dælas* is apparently equivalent to 'the farther — i.e. the eastern — parts' Kemble translates 'So Thomas also boldly adventured in India, on the other hand' But *ððre dælas* probably represents the phrase *ad orientalem plagam* of the *Breviarium*, cf *Introd*, p xxxi The same phrase occurs in the *De vita et obitu utriusque Testamenti Sanctorum* of Isidorus Hispalensis, quoted by Bourauel, p 105 *Thomas evangelium praedicavit Parthis et Indis, tenens orientalem plagam, ubique lanceis transfixus occubuit in Calamia Indrae civitate*

53<sup>b</sup> The Edd have only a comma after **word**

55 *āwehte*. Cf *An* 584<sup>a</sup>, and B-T, p 61, for examples of *āweccan* in the sense of 'raise from the dead' For the source of this episode, see *Introd*, p xxxii

58<sup>b</sup> Cf *An* 1616<sup>b</sup> and note

59<sup>b</sup> Cf *An* 1531<sup>b</sup>, note

60<sup>a</sup> B and W put a semicolon after **hand**

61<sup>b</sup> So *Sat* 141, 253, 449, 617, 650, cf *Sat* 68 *dryhtnes liht*, *Sat* 28 *swegles lēoht*, *Sat* 85, *wuldres lēoman*

62<sup>a</sup> *sāwle*. Other examples of a nominative *sāwle* are *Chr* 1327, *Soul* 10, *Metr* XX, 162, cf *Spr* II, 162 — 62<sup>b</sup> So *Beow* 1021

63 So *El* 364, 670, 852

63-69. The death of Matthew is recorded in the *Menologium*, ll 169-173, as follows

þænne dagaen worn  
 ymbe þrēotýne þegn unforcūð,  
 godspelles glēaw gāst onsende,  
 Māthēus his tō metodsceafta  
 in ðcne gefean

64<sup>a</sup> **Sigelwarum**. This name, which is of frequent occurrence as a designation of the Ethiopians (cf B-T, p 873, Bourauel, p 127, and see *An* 432, note), appears in the forms *\*Sigel-hearwa*, *Sil-hearwa*, *Sigel waras* The first element of the compound is *sigel-*, 'sun' (cf *sigel hweorfa*, 'heliotrope'), the whole word meaning 'sun-people' The blackness of the Ethiopians is frequently mentioned in Anglo-Saxon allusions to them, and this would be connected with the idea of the heat of the sun See Ovid, *Met* II, 235-236 (Kittredge), and cf also *wederburg*, *An* 1697 (and note), as the epithet applied to the city of the Mermedonians, which is placed by the poet of the *Andreas* in Ethiopia — 64<sup>b</sup> Cf *El* 435 *gif þis yppe bið*

66<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul* 378, *lēohte* (*lēohtne*) *gelēafan*, *El* 491, 1137, *Gu* 624, 1084, *Jul*. 653, *Metr* V, 26, *Ph* 479 Cf *An* 335<sup>b</sup> and note, *Ap* 20<sup>b</sup> — 66<sup>b</sup> *gefælsod* The same word is used of Beowulf when he destroys Grendel and Grendel's mother, *Beow* 825, 1176, 1620

68<sup>b</sup> So *Chr* 620, *El* 685 (*eorne*)

69<sup>b</sup> Cf *An* 72<sup>a</sup>, note

70-74. The New Testament mentions, besides James son of Zebedee (cf above, ll 33<sup>b</sup>-37<sup>a</sup>), a James son of Alpheus (*Matt* X, 3, *Mark* III, 18), and a James brother of Jesus (*Mark* VI, 3) Whether or not these two latter are the same person has been a subject of dispute in the church since the second century (see Lipsius, III, 229) Tradition has very little to say about James son of Alpheus, but the legendary history of James brother of Jesus, is extensive He was made the first bishop of Jerusalem, he was thrown from a pinnacle of the temple at Jerusalem by the angry Jews, and was then beaten on the head with a flogging staff until he was dead, see Lipsius, III, 241, and Bede's *Martyrology fullonis in cerebro percussus fuste occubuit*

71<sup>b</sup> Cf *An* 1610<sup>b</sup> and note

73 for æfestum So *An* 610, *El* 496, *Gu* 684, *Gen* 982, *Mod* 37

75-84. Cf *Men* 189<sup>b</sup>-193<sup>a</sup>

Wē þā æþelingas  
fyrn gefrūnan, þæt hī foremære,  
Simon ond Judas, symble wæron  
drihtne dýre for þon hī dōm hlutan,  
eādigne upweg

77<sup>a</sup> So *An* 641 — Thaddeus, also called Lebbaeus and Judas (Jude) (see *Matt* X, 3, *Acts* I, 13), was the brother of James

78<sup>v</sup> So *An* 848

80<sup>b</sup> Cf *Rud* LXXII, 13 *weorc brōwade*, apposite to *earfōða dæl*, l 14, *Beow* 1721 *weorc brōwade*, apposite to *lēodbealo longsum*, l 1722

81<sup>b</sup> Cf *Gu* 1238 *tō þām sōþan gefēan sǣwel fundað*, *Chr* 451, *sægdon sōðne gefēan* See *An* 598<sup>v</sup>, note

83<sup>v</sup> So *Beow* 733

87<sup>a</sup> Cf *Cyfl* 1-3 *Fela bið on foldan geongra geofona þā þā gæstberend wegað in gewitte*, *El* 61 *mōdsorge wæg Romwara cyning*, *El* 655 *gnornsorge wæg*, similarly *Chr* 1577, *Gen* 2238 *Sievers (PBB XII, 178) distinguishes between wegan, 'bear,' and wegan, 'oppose, fight' (as in Beow 2400) Wegan = wægon*, cf *An* 198, 601, 932, 1532, etc — 87<sup>b</sup> Cf *An* 726<sup>b</sup>, note

88-95 Cf 107-122, and, for the significance of this double ending, see *Introd*, p xlv

90. Cf l 9, *An* 1566

91<sup>b</sup> K changes *hū* to *nū*, translating 'Now I am in need of friends favorable on my course, when I must the long home, an unknown land, seek alone,' etc *Siev* also changes *hū* to *nū* and puts only a comma after *fultomes*, *Skeat*, p 419, follows *Siev* in his translation of the passage, *nū* = 'now that' The readings of *Siev* and *Skeat* make a very cumbersome and ill-joined sentence There is, moreover, no reason why the MS reading should be altered here For an example of *hū* = exclamation 'lo, behold,' cf *An* 63, and note The complaint of loneliness and of the need of friends at death (cf l 110<sup>a</sup>) occurs also in the *Vision of the Cross*, 131 ff

92<sup>a</sup> Cf *An* 276 — 92<sup>b</sup> Cf *Chr* 1464 *þæt longe lif*, 'eternal life', similarly, *Gu* 1063, 1281 *tō þām longan gefēan*, *Gu* 91 *þā longan gōd herede on heofonum*, antithetic to *þās eorþan . læne under lyfte*

94<sup>a</sup> W retains the MS reading *lǣt* (as also *gesēce* in l 93, omitting *scēal* in l 92), and accounts for the loss of the inflectional *e* on the supposition that *ie* is to be understood as following the verb. A second reason which W gives, that the *e* was omitted in order to enable the scribe to insert the following *mē* before a rent in the parchment, may be disregarded, inasmuch as the rent follows the *mē* of l 89 and not the *mē* of l 94 — 94<sup>b</sup> So *Gu* 1340, appositive to *bānhūs ābrocen*, l 1341 and antithetic to *wuldres dā̄l*, l 1342

96-122 An exact copy of the passage on f 54<sup>1</sup> is given by Napier, *Haupt's Zs* XXXIII, 71-72, by Wulker, *Bibl* II, 566-567, and *Cod Verc*, p viii. As Napier's keener vision enabled him to decipher several letters that were illegible to Wulker, his readings are here given. The copy reproduces the MS literally. Italics are used to indicate letters that are somewhat faded, but still, according to Napier, plainly legible, italicized letters enclosed in parentheses are either very much faded or only partly legible, so that the reading is somewhat uncertain. The probable number of letters that have been rendered entirely illegible in each line is indicated by colons, the colons represent the greatest number of letters that could have stood in the respective passages if the passages had been occupied by single words, if the passages were occupied by several words with the usual spacing between them, the number of letters would be less.

Her mæg findan for þances gleaw seðe hīne lysteð leoð gīd dunga. Hwa þas fitte *fegde* (V) þær on ende standþ eorlas þæs oneorðan *b(r) cab*. Nemoton hie awa æt somme woruld *wungende* (P) sceal gedreosan (N) on eðle æfter to(h) (l) ene lices fræteawa efne swa (A) to ghdeð (swa) (H) (F) cræftes neotað mhtes nearowe on him ninges þeo dóm. Nv þu cunnon miht (h) (r) dūm wæs werū on cyðig. Sie þæs ge myndig (lu)fige þisses gal dres begang þæt he geoce re frīclic ic sceall feor heo nan án elles (f?) rdes neosan sið asettan. Nat ic sylfa hwær o (i) sse worulde wíc sindon un cuð eard 7 eðel. Swa (b) þ ælcū menn nemþe he god cundes gastes bruce (A)h(u)tu we þe geornor togode cleopigan sendan usse bene on þa beorhtan gesceaft þæt we þæs botles brucan motan hames in hehðo þær is hīhta mæst þær cyning engla clænum glīdeð lean un hwilen nu ahis lof standeð mycel 7 mære 7 his miht seomaþ ece 7 eð grōng ofer ealle gesceaft finit.

The passage, so far as he attempted its restoration, is translated as follows by Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 10) 'Nun kann hier, wer da will, des dichters namen finden. An dessen ende steht ein *feoh*. Des *feoh* bedienen sich die menschen hier auf erden aber keinem von ihnen, den weltbewohnern, ist es beschieden, sein ewig zu gemessen. Vergehen wird der wonnigliche besitz, das gut im erbsitze, und zerfallen wird des leibes verganglicher schmuck, wie eine woge zergleitet. Dann suchen C und Y nach kraft nachts in bedrangung aber uber ihnen steht gottes verhangniss. Nun kannst du sehen, wer in diesen worten den menschen zu erkennen war.'

Trautmann's translation (*Kynewulf*, p. 54) is as follows

Hier kann der denkende und weise mann,  
der lust an dichtungun hat, finden,  
wer diesen sang gefugt hat. Ein FEON (der laut f) steht da am ende,

Des FEOH (besitzes) gemessen die menschen auf der erde, doch keiner der weltbewohner  
 kann es immerfort der REICHTUM muss vergehn,  
 das GUT im erbsitze, zerfallen muss später  
 des leibes fluchtiger schmuck, gerade wie die WOGE zergeht  
 Wenn SORGE und LEIDENSCHAFT die kraft [der menschen] verzehren  
 in der bedrangniss der nacht, legt ihnen die not  
 den dienst des herren auf Jetz kannst du wissen,  
 wer in diesen worten den menschen zu erkennen war

Skeat (*English Miscellany*, pp 418-419) translates the whole passage as follows

Here may one who is skilled in penetration discover,  
 one who takes delight in poetic strains,  
 who it was that composed this Fit *Feoð* [wealth] stands at the end thereof,<sup>1</sup>  
 which men enjoy while upon earth, but they cannot always be together  
 while dwelling in this world *Wynn* [joy] must fade,  
*Ūr* [ours] though it be in our home So must finally decay  
 the transitory trappings of the body, even as *Lago* [water] glides away  
 Then shall *Cēn* [bold warrior] and *Yfel* [the wretched one] seek for help  
 in the anxious watches of the night *Nýd* [constraint] lies upon him,  
 the service due to the King Now mayst thou discover  
 who in these words has been revealed to men

Let him who loves the study of this poem  
 be mindful of one thing, namely, to give me help  
 and desire my comfort I must needs, far hence,  
 all alone seek elsewhere a new habitation,  
 and undertake a journey, I myself know not whither,  
 out of this world My new chambers are unknown,  
 my new dwelling-place and home So will it be for every man,  
 unless he cleave fast to the divine Spirit  
 But let us the more earnestly cry unto God,  
 let us send up our petitions to the bright heaven,  
 that we may enjoy the habitation,  
 the true home on high, where are the greatest of joys,  
 where the King of angels grants to the pure  
 an everlasting reward Now his praise shall endure forever,  
 great and all glorious, and his power with it,  
 eternal and freshly young, throughout all creation

Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, p 183) translates

A man of cunning thought may here discover,  
 if he taketh pleasure in song,

F· who wrought this lay. *Wealth* cometh last,  
 the friend of man on earth, while he dwelleth in the world,  
 but they cannot keep together always

U W *Our earthly joy* shall fade, and the frail gauds of the flesh  
 L Shall afterwards decay, even as *water* glideth away

C Y *Bold warrior* and *afflicted wretch* shall then crave help,  
 N in the anxious watches of the night, but *Destiny* o'errules,  
 the King exacts their service Now thou canst know,  
 who was revealed to men in these words

<sup>1</sup> I e at the end of the name, viz *Cynwulf*, which ends with *Feoð* or *F* (Skeat's note)



The three well-known passages, besides the present one, in which Cynewulf gives his name in runic letters, are *Jul* 695-710, *El* 1257-1271, and *Chr* 796-806. It has never been questioned that these are genuine signatures of the poet, although the methods of interpreting the runes differ widely. They have been explained as standing (1) merely for the letters of the alphabet forming the name Cyn(e)wulf, (2) for the names of the runes, e.g.  $\mathfrak{F}$  (or F), **feoh** (money),  $\mathfrak{L}$  (or L), **lagu** (water, sea), etc. But since in certain passages the names of the runes, e.g.  $\mathfrak{U}$  (or U), **ūr** (bull), were meaningless, the runes have been taken to stand (3) for words similar in sound to their names, e.g.  $\mathfrak{U}$  (U) = **ūr** (of old), **ūre** (our), **ūr** (possession, wealth), and finally, (4) for other words beginning with the letters of the alphabet to which the runes respectively correspond, e.g.  $\mathfrak{U}$  (U) = **ufan** (from above), **unne** (possession). For a summary of the discussion of the Cynewulf runes, cf. Trautmann, *Kynewulf*, pp. 43-70, a briefer summary is given by Cook, *Christ*, pp. 151-165. For a general discussion of the runes and runic inscriptions, cf. Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, Sievers, in Paul's *Grundriss* I, 238 ff., Stephens, *Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*, and for further bibliography see Kahle, *Altislandisches Elementarbuch*, pp. 2-3.

The order of succession of the runes in the other passages is consecutive: *Jul*, C Y N E W U L F, *Chr*, C Y N W U L F, *El*, C Y N E W U L F. The order in the *Aþ* is as follows: F W U L [C] [Y] [N]. The runes will be considered in their context as they occur. It should be observed that the reader is not left without help in determining the proper order of the letters in *Aþ*. They are given in three groups, first F, second W U L, and third C Y N. F, we are told, stands at the end (of the name). L 99<sup>b</sup> may have a twofold meaning, dependent on the double meaning of **mōton**: (1) they, wealth (**feoh**) and mankind (**eorlas**), may not always remain together, (2) they, the letter F and those which follow it, W and U, need not or must not stand together, that is, you must separate the F from the W and the U. Then 'after' the U comes the L, completing the second group. The poet then turns to his third group (cf. **Donne**, 103). The order is normal, first C and Y, then 'on' them lies or follows (cf. the common use of *lucgan* in the sense of 'flow') the third letter, N. The first and alliterating syllable of 105<sup>a</sup> then unites these three letters in the syllable **cyn-**. Given the groups C Y N, W U L, and F, no Anglo-Saxon would have felt any uncertainty as to how they were to be joined.

96. **foreþances**. The MS form **forþanc** does not occur elsewhere, for **foreþanc**, cf. *El* 356, *Jul* 227, *Beow* 1060.

98<sup>b</sup>  $\mathfrak{F}$ . All commentators are agreed as to the value and the name of this rune. It is equivalent to F and its name is **feoh**, 'money', 'wealth'. In the present passage it has the value both of a letter and of the word which is its name: 'F (or the letter **feoh**) stands at the end (of the name), earls enjoy it (i.e. **feoh**, wealth or property) on earth.'

Napier ends l. 98 with **ende**. His next line extends from **standeþ** to **brūcað**, followed by **ne ætsomne**, which is made a full line by the insertion of *earðan* between **āwa** and **ætsomne**. By this line-division Napier gains one line in the numbering over Sievers and Trautmann, whose line-division is followed in the text.

99 The line as it stands makes a good hypermetric verse, and Napier's insertion of *ear dian* is unnecessary Ll 98 and 102 are also hypermetric verses, cf Sievers, *Angha* XIII, 1

99<sup>b</sup>-100<sup>a</sup> **ne mōton** The meaning of the verb is to be completed by **wesan**, understood Sievers (*Angha* XIII, 2) would infer **brūcan** as completing the meaning of **mōton**, although he points out the possibility of the alternative construction, **mōton** sc **wesan** **Ætsomme** he understands in the sense of 'all,' as in *Sat* 41 *þæt wē sceolun ætsomme sūl þrowian*, *Beow* 2847 *týne ætsomme*, and cf *An* 994 *Ne hīe ætsomme* he accordingly translates 'none,' 'not a one' No other example of *ne ætsomme* occurs Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p 54) follows Sievers Skeat and Gollancz (see translations above) understand **wesan** as completing the meaning of **mōton** This seems the natural and unforced meaning of the passage The subject of **mōton** is **hīe**, 1 e **feoh** and **eorlas**, **woruldwunigende** is an appositive to **hīe**, 'wealth and mankind, these dwellers in the world, may not always be or remain together' The succeeding lines maintain the parallel wealth shall pass away, then afterwards the transitory graces of the body, 1 e mankind, **eorlas**, shall perish

100<sup>b</sup> **Þ** All editors agree in supplying the rune **Þ** = **W**, in order to obtain an alliterating letter in the second half-line Sievers (*Angha* XIII, 3-4), Cosijn (*Verslag* III, VII, p 59) and Gollancz (*Kynewulf's Christ*, p 178) understand the rune as meaning **wyn**, 'joy' (Sievers, 'wonniglicher besitz') Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p 52) interprets it as **wela**, 'riches' **Wyn**, 'joy,' gives an appropriate meaning

101 **Ū** The commentators differ widely in their interpretation of this rune, but the most reasonable explanation of it is that it stands for the letter **U** and for the poss pronoun **ūr**, referring back to **wyn** The proper name of the rune in the runic alphabet is *ūrus* = the *urus*, a species of wild ox, cf the description in the *Runic Poem* 4-6 (*Bibl* I, 331)

**Ū** (ūr) byþ anmōd and oferhyrmed,  
fela-frēcne dēor, feohteþ mid hornum  
mære mōrstapa þæt is mōdig wuht

The meaning '*urus*,' however, is appropriate to none of the *Kynewulf* passages The following substitutions have been proposed for the passage in the *Ap* Cosijn (*Verslag* III, VII, p 59) substitutes **ūr** = 'our,' the possessive pronoun, noting (p 57) that **ūr**, instead of **ūre**, is a form of the possessive pronoun in the *Vespasian Psalter* Gollancz (*Kynewulf's Christ*, pp 181-182) follows Cosijn, adding the evidence 'that in a runic alphabet (*Domitian*, A, 9) the rune is actually glossed "*noster*"' The alphabet is printed in Hickeys, *Thesaurus* I, 136 Sievers (*Angha*, XIII, 7) understands **ūr** as a synonym of **feoh**, strengthening his position by the citation of *Chr* 806 ff *ūr wæs longe lagufiōdum bilocen, lifwynna dæġ, feoh on foldan*, and *El* 1266 ff *ūr wæs gēara, geoguðhādes glæm nū synt gēardagas forð gewitene, lifwynne geliden* His translation is 'das gut' In both the above passages, however, the word is represented by the rune, no example of *ūr*, 'wealth,' as an Anglo Saxon word, is known Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p 52) rejects the reading of Cosijn and Gollancz on the ground that the runes never stand for other parts of speech than nouns He suggests **unne**, 'permission,' 'what is granted,' 'grant,' extending (without sufficient authority) the meaning of the word to

'possessions,' 'property,' 'die habe', Sievers's reading he rejects on the ground that the existence of *ūr* = 'wealth' as an Anglo-Saxon word cannot be proved. To Trautmann's substitution *unne* as an appositive to *wyn* and *feoh* we may make the same objection that he makes to Sievers's *ūr*, — the word does not occur, to his statement that the runes never stand for any words except nouns the gloss cited by Gollancz is a sufficient answer. The interpretation of Cosijn and Gollancz is altogether the most reasonable — *ior*<sup>b</sup> *tōhrēosan*. Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 7) notes that the rime with *gedrēosan* confirms the restoration *tōhrēosan*, rather than Napier's *tōhrēosaþ*, observing also that the infinitive here gives a smoother sentence-structure.

*ioz*<sup>b</sup> † The equivalent of this rune is L. All commentators agree in the substitution of *lagu* = 'water, wave, sea,' as its name. The half-line occurs again, also with the rune, in *El* 1268<sup>b</sup>.

*io3* The first half line is almost illegible in the MS. Napier (p. 71) says 'Das swa selbst ist sehr undeutlich und ich bin keineswegs sicher, richtig gelesen zu haben. Darauf folgt ein punct und hinter diesem glaube ich das runenzeichen H erkennen zu können. Dahinter sind undeutliche spuren eines zweiten runenzeichens sichtbar, die darauf schliessen lassen, dass H hier gestanden habe. es sind dies ein 7½ mm langer senkrechter strich, ein 3 mm langer querstrich, der mit dem oberen ende des ersten einen winkel von ca. 57° bildet, und ausserdem vier kleine puncte. Zwischen den beiden runenzeichen ist raum für einen buchstaben (etwa 7), es braucht aber keiner da gestanden zu haben.' Sievers (p. 9) doubts the reading *swā*, if it is to be accepted he thinks the abbreviation for *ond* must have stood before it. Better than *swā*, however, as he points out, is the reading *þoñ* = *þonne*, as in *Chr* 797 and *Jul* 705. Gollancz, p. 176, and Trautmann, p. 50, follow Sievers's second reading.

All agree in the insertion of the two runes in the first half-line, the alliteration demands the rune *h* = C, the equivalent letter of the second rune is Y. As to the interpretation of the two runes there is wide divergence of opinion. It is evident that *io3*<sup>a</sup> must have contained the subject of the verb *nēosað*, and it is probable that the runes in this half line stand for nouns which could fulfill that function. These nouns would naturally be parallel to *eorlas*, 99, and *woruld-wunigende*, 100. The most plausible interpretation is that the runes stand for *cēne*, 'bold,' and *yfel*, 'wretched,' adjectives used as nouns.

Napier does not attempt the restoration of this and the following line. Sievers (p. 10) says 'Mit C und Y weiss sich nichts anzufangen. sie werden bloss die geltung von buchstabennamen haben, welche hier die zu fordernden subjecte ("sie" = "die menschen") andeuten.' According to Gollancz (p. 178), 'the words represented by the C-Rune and the Y-Rune, which are co-ordinated, must evidently be the same part of speech, if C = *cēne*, "the bold warrior," in the same sense as in the other passages. [i.e. the other runic signatures of Cynewulf], one would expect Y to stand for an adjective or substantive, in any case of masculine gender, but in passage A [*Chr* 796-806] the Y-Rune is co-ordinated with the N-Rune, concerning the meaning of this latter rune there is no doubt, it represents the abstract noun *nȳd*, "necessity", therefore the Y-Rune in this latter passage must, I think, stand for some similar abstract noun. Judging by A [i.e. *Christ*] and C [C = the present passage], the Y-Rune represents a *y*-word that can discharge

the two-fold functions of a masculine adjective (or noun) and of an abstract noun. The only Anglo-Saxon word that satisfies these requirements is *yfel* = (1) "wretched", (2) "affliction", and there is, I venture to think, strong reason for favoring this interpretation of the Y-Rune in the three passages. In passage A, *yfel and nȳd* = "affliction and distress", in passage B [*El* 1257-1271], *yfel gnornode nȳdgefera* = "afflicted, mourned the companion of sorrow", in passage C, *cēne and yfel* = "the bold warrior and the afflicted wretch". Trautmann (p. 53) differs from both Sievers and Gollancz: 'Da ihnen [i.e. the two runes] das selbe praedicat gemein ist, werden sie doch wohl ähnlichen sinn haben, und da von ihnen ausgesagt wird *cræftes nēotað nihtes nearwe*, "sie verzehren die kraft in der bangigkeit der nacht," so müssen sie doch wohl so etwas wie "angst, sorge, gram, leidenschaft, not," bedeuten. Da ergeben sich denn sofort *cearu*, "sorge, kummer," und *ȳst*, "leidenschaft," als die mit C und Y gemeinten worte.' To this it may be answered that the words represented by the runes need not be synonyms, but may be, as Gollancz suggests, antithetic, and second, that Trautmann's interpretation depends upon an impossible meaning for *nēotað*, see 103<sup>b</sup>, note. Unless one prefers, with Sievers, to regard the runes as standing for letters only, and not words, the explanation of Gollancz is to be accepted. The chief difficulty in the way is the meaning assigned to *yfel*. The meaning 'bold (warrior)' for *cēne* is a probable one and finds numerous parallels, see Glossary. But *yfel*, usually 'wicked,' but also 'miserable,' is not used, like *cēne*, as an adjective noun, neither is the antithesis between 'bold' and 'wretched' quite a perfect one. Nevertheless it must be remembered that this runic passage is somewhat of the nature of a riddle, that the language of riddles is not always unconstrained and natural, and that the number of *y*-words which the poet had to choose from was a very limited one — *nēosað*. The MS reads plainly *neotað*. Trautmann (p. 53) retains the MS reading, extending the meaning of *nēotan* = 'use,' 'enjoy,' to the meaning 'consume,' 'devour,' 'verzehren.' For this, however, there is no authority. Sievers (pp. 8-9), Gollancz (p. 176), and Skeat (see translation above) change to *nēosað*, 'inquire for,' 'search out,' 'seek.' Sievers cites the parallel in *An* 484, his translation of the passage is as follows: 'Wenn so alles dahingeht, dann suchen C und Y nach *cræft* (einen rettenden ausweg, oder schützende starke?) in angstvoller bedrangniß (aber vergebens), denn ubet ihnen steht ihres herren ehernes verhangniß.'

104 *nihtes nearowe*. Plainly an adverbial phrase limiting the idea contained in *nēosað*. The phrase occurs twice elsewhere in similar construction. *El* 1238-1239 *gebanc reodode nihtes nearwe*, in the personal epilogue of that poem, and *Gu* 1181-1183 *gēomor sefa gehþa gemanode nihtes nearwe* — All agree in the insertion of the rune ȝ = N, which is demanded by the alliteration. Its equivalent word is *nied*, *nȳd*, 'fate,' 'necessity,' an appositive to *þeodōm*, 105. This is the interpretation of Sievers (p. 7), Gollancz, and Skeat. Trautmann (p. 54) understands *nȳd* in the sense of 'distress' and *þeodōm* in the sense of 'service,' the former being nominative case and the latter accusative, instead of *līgeð* he also reads *legeð*. He translates 'auf sie [die menschen] legt die not den dienst des herren, d. i. die not fuhr die menschen zu gott.' The other reading, however, preserves the sequence of thought much better. All agree in the restoration *cyninges*

Napier (p 72) suggests the possibility that two runes are to be supplied in l 104<sup>b</sup>, † = N and M = E. There appears, however, to be hardly sufficient space in the obliterated part of the MS for this second rune, M. In the runic signature to the *Chr*, also, Cynewulf spells his name without the *e*. Sievers (p 11) points out that the fuller form *Cyne-* is relatively the earlier of the two, and that syncopation of *e* takes place in proper names before *l*, *r*, *w*, and *h*, although examples of the full form *Cyne* are found throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon period. 'Auf alle Falle ist die Namensform *Cynwulf* als gut Ags für das 8. Jahrhundert bezeugt, und man braucht also auch von dieser Seite her an dem Schwanken *Cynewulf's* in der Wiedergabe seines Namens keinen Anstoss zu nehmen. Leider lässt sich weder die Entstehungszeit noch das Verbreitungsgebiet der Form *Cyn-* genauer bestimmen. Belegt ist sie für Northumbrien, Mercia, und Kent, dem rein Sächsischen scheint sie dagegen bis auf das stereotype *Cyrric* fremd zu sein.'

106<sup>b</sup> *oncȳðig* 'Revealed, made known'. A word *uncȳðig* occurs *El* 960, in the sense 'ignorant, unknowing' (although *Cosyn Verslag*, p 59, would give it the opposite meaning), and in *Gu* 1199, where it means 'lacking, wanting,' in the phrase *elnes uncȳðig*. In *El* 724 the form *oncȳðig* occurs in the same phrase as *Gu* 1199. *Oncȳðig* in the sense 'revealed, manifest,' does not occur elsewhere, but cf *Vesp Psalter* XXIV, 7, *unondȳðignis*, translating *ignorantia*. Napier translates 'jetzt kannst du wissen, wer durch diese (die vorhergehenden) worte den menschen bekannt gemacht werden sollte.' So also Sievers, Skeat, and Gollancz.

107-122 Cf ll 88-95, and, for the similarity of these endings to the concluding paragraphs of sermons, see *An* 1686, note.

107<sup>b</sup> For the restoration, cf 88<sup>b</sup>.

110 *an elles forð*. The idea of loneliness at the last day is dwelt on also in the *Vision of the Cross*, 122-146. *Elles forð*, parallel to *elles hƿær*, *hƿergen*, *hƿider*, does not occur elsewhere.

111 *sið āsettan*. See *An* 1704, and *Spr* I, 41, for other examples of this phrase.

115 *utu*. For the contracted form, see *Gram*, § 360, 2. Napier restores *Ah* before *utu*.

116 *on þā beorhtan gesceaft*. 'Into heaven'. So *El* 1088, cf, with the same meaning, *El* 1031 *þurh þā hālgan gesceaft*, *Jul* 728 *þurh þā scīran gesceaft*. Cf also l 122<sup>b</sup>.

118 *hihta mæst*. Cf *Wulfstan*, ed Napier, p 139, l 25 and *ðonne mōt habban heofonan rice*, *þæt is hihta mæst*, *El* 196-197 *wæs him frōfra mæst ond hyht[a] niht* (perhaps to be read *hȳhst*), *Gu* 34 *hyhta hȳhst*, *Hy* VI, 252 (*Bibl* II, 269) *heofonan rice*, *þæt is hihta mæst*.

121 *seomap*. The word as a verb, 'await,' 'endure,' parallel to *standeð*, l 120, gives a satisfactory meaning here, cf *An* 183, *Jul* 709 *seomað sorgcearig*, *El* 694 *siomode in sorgum*. Sievers (p 23) changes to *somað*, 'together,' 'together with,' remarking, 'die form *somoð* statt des sonst ublichen *somod*, *samod*, ist northumbrisch *someð*, *Rushw Marc* XV, 41. Das verbum *seomað* gbt keinen befriedigenden sinn'. Skeat in his translation follows Sievers.

122<sup>a</sup>. Cf *Ph* 607-608 *þær sē longa gefēa, ēce and edgeong, æfre ne sweðrað*.



# GLOSSARY

TO

## ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

The vowel *e* is treated as equivalent in rank to *a*, initial *ð* follows *t*, the order otherwise is alphabetic. Arabic numerals indicate the classes of the ablaut verbs according to Sievers' classification, W1, etc., the classes of the weak verbs, R the reduplicating, PP the preteritive-present verbs. When the designations of mood and tense are omitted, ind pres is to be supplied, when of mood only, supply ind if no other has immediately preceded, otherwise the latter. When a reference or group of references is given without grammatical indication, the description of the preceding form is to be understood. Optatives are so classified only when the forms are distinctive for that mood. The citations are intended to be complete, except for the commonest forms of the pronouns and for the conjunctions and adverbs *ond*, *ne*, *nē*, and *ðā*. References are to *Andreas* unless AP is prefixed.

### A

- ā**, adv 1 *ever, always* 64, 541, 959, 1193, 1267, 1379, 1384, AP 120 — 2 *ever, at any time* 203, 569 — 3 *ne*. **ā**, *by no means, not* 1467
- æ**, f, *law* ns 1644, as 1403, 1511, AP 10, **ā** 1194
- ābēodan**, 2, *announce, declare, command* pret 3 sg **ābēad** 96, pp **āboden** 231
- āberan**, 4, *endure* imp 2 sg **āber** 956
- āblendan**, W1, *blind* pp **āblended** 78
- Ābrahām**, pr n, *Abraham* as **Hābrahām** 793, ds **Ābrahāme** 753, **Hābrahānte** 756, 779
- ābrecan**, 5, *break, crush* inf 150, pp **ābrocen** 1240
- ābregdan**, 3, *remove, carry away* pret 3 pl **ābrugdon** 865
- ābrēotan**, 2, *destroy* pret 3 pl **ābrēoton** 51
- ac**, conj, *but* 38, 634, 637, 736, 1476, AP 19, 34, **ah** 23, 232, 281, 569, 1083, 1209, 1670, 1703, AP 115, **ach** 1592
- ācennan**, W1, *bear, bring forth* pp **ācenned** 566, 685
- ach**, *see ac*.
- Achaisa**, pr n, *Achaisa* ds **Achaisa** 169, 927, **Achagia** AP 16, as **Achaisa** 1700
- āclæccræft**, m, *magic power* dp **āclæccræftum** 1362
- āchan**, *see geāchan*.
- ācol**, adj, *terrified* nsm 1266, npm **ācle** 1339
- ācolmōd**, adj, *terrified* nsm 1595, npm **ācolmōde** 377
- ācsigan**, W2, *demand* inf 1134 *See geāscian*.
- ādre**, adv, *immediately, forthwith* 110, 189, 803, 936, **ēdre** 401, 643, 950
- ādrēogan**, 2 1 *practice, show forth* pret 3 sg **ādrēg** 164 — 2 *endure, suffer* pret 1 sg **ādrēah** 969, pret 3 sg 1486, **ādrēag** 1482, inf 369, ger **ādrēoganne** 73
- ādrēopan**, 2, *flow, drip* pp **ādropen** 1425
- āfæran**, W1, *affright, terrify*, pp npm **āfærde** 1340
- āfēdan**, W1 1 *feed* pret 3 sg **āfēdde** 589 — 2 *rear, bring up* pp **āfēded** 684
- āfen**, n, *evening* ns 1245

- āferian**, W1, *lead out* pret 3 sg  
āferede 1177
- æfest**, fn, *hate, dissension* dp æfestum  
AP 73, æfstum 610
- æfire**, adv, *ever, at any time* 360, 493,  
499, 553, 1012, 1057
- āfrēfian**, W1, *comfort, console* pp  
āfrēfred 638
- æfter**, prep w dat 1 *after* 37, 78,  
88, 133, 156, 229, 468, 593, 600, 620,  
761, 1026, 1219, 1483, 1527, 1568,  
1585, 1621, 1712, AP 22, 82 —  
2 *through, throughout, over* 335,  
581, 1232, 1237, 1426 — 3 *according  
to* 1447, 1695.
- æfter**, adv 1 *afterward, then* 124,  
182, 738, 904, 1228, AP 101 —  
2 *after, from behind* 1712
- āfyrhtan**, W1, *frighten* pp āfyrhted  
1529
- āgan**, PP, *own, possess* 3 sg āh 518
- āgān**, anv, *pass* pp āgān 147
- āgen**, adj, *own* asm āgenne 339
- āgend**, m, *Lord* ns 210, as 760, 1715  
*See dōmāgende*
- āgēotan**, 2 1 *shed, pour out* pret  
3 sg āgēt 1449 — 2 *besprinkle*  
pret 3 sg āgēt 1441
- āgētan**, W1, *injure, destroy* pret 3 pl  
āgētton 32, inf 1143
- ægflota**, m, *ship* is ægflotan 258
- æghwā**, pron, *every one* dsm æg-  
hwām 320
- æghwæðer**, pron, *each* nsm 1015,  
ægðer 1051.
- æghwylc**, pron, *every one* gsm æg-  
hwylces 508, dsm æghwylcum 350,  
asm æghwylcne 26
- āgifan**, 5 1 *give, entrust* pret 3 sg  
āgef 189, 285, 572, 617, 628, 643, 1184,  
1345, 1375, pret 3 pl āgēfan 401,  
pp āgifen 296, inf 1416 — 2 *depart  
from* pret 3 sg āgeaf 1578
- æglæca**, m 1 *warrior, foe* ns 1312,  
np æglæcan 1131 — 2 *magician*  
ds æglæcan 1359 *See āclæccræft*
- æglēaw**, adj, *learned in the law* comp  
nsm æglæwra 1483, apm æglæawe  
AP 24
- āgrafan**, 6, *engrave, carve* pp apn  
āgræfene 712
- ægðer**, *see æghwæðer*
- ah**, *see ac*
- āhebban**, 6, *raise* pret 3 sg āhōf 344,  
416, 521, 561, 674, 1322, 1497
- āhlēapan**, R, *leap, run* pret 3 sg  
āhlēop 736, pret 3 pl āhlēoþon  
1202
- āhliehhan**, 6, *laugh, rejoice* pret 3 sg  
āhlōh 454
- āhōn**, R, *crucify* pp āhangen AP 41
- æht**, f, *council* as 410, 608
- æht**, f, *possession, power of possession*  
ns 1718
- æhtgeweald**, n, *power, possession* as  
1110
- æhtwela**, m, *riches* ap æhtwelan AP  
84
- āhweorfan**, 3, *turn* inf 957
- āhwettan**, W1 1 *excite* inf 303 —  
2 *satisfy, supply?* 1 sg āhwette 339
- ālætan**, R, *give up* pret 3 pl ālēton  
1629
- Albānum**, pr n, *Albania* ds Albāno  
AP 45
- ælc**, pron, *every, each* dsm ælcum  
1534, AP 113
- aldor**, m, *leader, prince* ns 708, 913,  
as 55, 354, 806, vs 70
- aldor**, *see ealdor*
- æled**, m, *five* ns 1550
- ælfæle**, adj, *baneful* nsn 770
- ālicgan**, 5, *fail* pret 3 sg ālæg 3
- ælmihhtig**, adj, *almighty, the Lord*  
nsm 249, 365, 445, 1376, 1504,  
ælmihht 260, ælmihhtiga 1190, vsm  
ælmihhtig 76, 902, 1287
- Ælmyrcan**, pr n, *Ethiopians* gp  
Ælmyrcna 432
- ælwihhte**, *see eallwihhte*
- ālysan**, W1 1. *redeem, release* 1 sg  
ālyse 100, 3 sg ālyseð 112, opt



- pres 3 sg *ālȳse* 1373, opt pres 1 pl *ālȳsan* 1564, pp *ālȳsed* 1149, inf 944 — 2 *tear off* pp *ālȳsed* 1472
- āmearcian**, W2 1 *set boundaries to* pret 3 sg *āmearcode* 750 — 2 *de-lineate* pp *āmearcod* 724
- ān**, num 1 *one, certain one* nsm 326, 703, 1555, 1717, AP 79, gsm *ānes* 327, 483, 1040, gsf *ānre* 475, asm *āne* 1495, 1647, *āenne* 1104, asf *āne* 1091, gp *ānra* 933, 1283 — 2 *alone* nsm *ān* AP 110, *āna* 68, 636, 1007, AP 93, gsm *ānes* 525, dsm *ānum* 81, 1320, asf *āne* 1591 — 3 *unique, admirable* ism *āne* 258  
*See āne, ānforlætan*
- and**, *see ond*
- andgit**, n, *meaning, purport* as 509
- Andrēas**, pr n, *Andrew* nom *Andrēas* 169, 189, 270, 285, 299, 315, 352, 383, 572, 617, 628, 643, 818, 1020, 1058, 1184, 1199, 1375, AP 16, voc 203, 859, 914, 950, 1208, 1316, 1362, acc 110, 379, 1175, gen 1692, dat *Andrēa* 1135, 1569
- andswaru**, **andswarian**, **andswerian**, *see ondswaru* etc
- andweard**, adj, *present* asm *andweardne* 1224, apm *andweard* 783
- āne**, adv, *once* 492
- ānforlætan**, R, *forsake, abandon* pret 2 sg *ān ne forlæte* 1454, inf 1287, 1642, 1669
- ānhaga**, m, *recluse* ds *ānhagan* 1351
- ānig**, adj pron, *any* nsm 15, 377, nsn 1439, gsm *āniges* 199, AP 19, dsm *āngum* 178, asm *ānigne* 493, 517, 1081, asf *ānige* 1521, dpm *āngum* 888
- āninga**, adv, *suddenly, straightway* 220, 1141, 1370, *āninga* 1392
- anlicnes**, f, *image, statue* ns 717, onlicnes 731, ap *anlicnesse* 713
- anmōd**, *see onmōd*
- ānmōd**, adj, *unanimous* np *ānmōde* 1565, 1601
- anrād**, adj, *resolute* nsm 232, 983
- apostolhād**, m, *apostleship* ns AP 14, as 1651 [Lat *apostolus*]
- ār**, m, *messenger, attendant*, ns 1647, as 1604, 1679, np *āras* 298, ap 400, 829?
- ār**, f, *favor, mercy* ns 979, ds *āre* 76, as *āre* 1129
- ær**, adv, *before* 188, 695, 949, 1070, 1266, 1274, 1341, 1449, 1476, 1615, 1624, 1628, sup *ærest, first, at first* 12, 132, 756, 1020, 1100 *See ær þan*
- ær**, conj, *before* 1050, 1354, 1439
- āræfnan**, W1, *endure* inf 816
- āræran**, W1, *set up, establish* pret 2 sg *ārærddest* 1318, pp *āræred* 967, 1645
- ærdæg**, m, *early part of the day* ds *ærdæge* 220, 235, 1388, 1525
- æreccan**, W1, *recount* inf 546
- æren**, adj, *of brass* asm *æienne* 1062
- ærende**, n, *errand, message* ns 230, 1620, gs *ærendes* 215, ap *ærendu* 776
- ærest**, f, *resurrection* as 780
- ærest**, *see ær*
- ærgeblond**, n, *sea* as 383
- ærgeweorc**, n, *ancient work* np 1235
- ārīsan**, 1 1 *arise*, pret 3 sg *ārās* 450, 695, 1011, 1236, 1303, 1469, imp 2 sg *ārīs* 936 — 2 *rise (from the dead)* pret 3 sg *ārās* 1634, AP 56, inf 1623 [Cf *ærest*]
- ārlēas**, adj, *impious* npm *ārlēasan* 559
- ær þan**, conj, *before* 1031
- ārwela**, m, *sea* as *ārwelan* 853
- ārȳð**, f, *wave* gp *ārȳða* 532
- æsc**, m, *spear* ip *æscum* 1097
- æscberend**, m, *spear-bearer, warrior* np 47, 1076, 1537
- āscian**, *see geāscian*
- āsettan**, W1 1 *place, transfer* pp *āseted* 208 — 2 with *sīð*, *to make a journey* pret 3 sg *āsette* 1704, inf AP 111

**āspēdan**, W1, w dat, *survive, escape* from pp npm āspēdde 1631  
**Assēas**, pr n, *Asiatics* dp Assēm AP 38  
**āstandan**, 6 1 *arise* pret 3 sg āstōd 443 — 2 *rise from the dead* pret 3 pl āstōdon 1625, inf 792  
**āstīgan**, 1, *rise up* pret 3 sg āstāg 708, āstāh 1125  
**Astriās**, pr n, *Astrages* ns AP 45  
**āsundrian**, W2, *separate* pp āsundrad 1243  
**āswebban**, W1, *kill* opt 3 pl āswebban 72, inf AP 69  
**æt**, prep w dat 1 *at, in (time, place and circumstance)* 221, 403, 412, 414, 553, 797, 1325, 1330, 1353, 1356, 1436, 1658, 1709, 1710, AP 59 — 2 *of, from (with verbs of receiving)* 908, 1130  
**æt**, m, *food* ds æte 132, as æt 1073  
**æta**, see sylfæta.  
**ætfaestan**, W1, *influx* inf 1347  
**ætgedere**, adv, *together* 992  
**atol**, adj, *dire, hateful* nsm 1312, atola 1296, asm atulne 53  
**ātor**, n, *poison* ns āttor 770, gs ātres 53, is āttre 1331  
**ætsomne**, adv, *together* 994, 1091, AP 99  
**ætōringan**, 3, *expel, destroy* pres opt 3 pl ætþringan 1371  
**ætýwan**, W1, *appear* pret 3 sg ætýwde 1168, 1296, 1662, inf 729  
**æðelcýning**, m, *noble king, Christ* gs æþelcýninges 1679  
**æðele**, adj, *noble, glorious* nsm 360, 1722, nsn 1242, 1644, gsm æðeles 756, dsm æðelum 230, 360, asf æðelan 642, 1476, asm æðelne 871, 1020, npm æðele AP 79  
**æðelīc**, adj, *noble, glorious* nsn 888  
**æðeling**, m, *hero, prince, Lord* ns 853, 911, 990, 1575, gs æðelinges 44, 649, ds æðelinge 568, as æðeling 680, 793, 1272, 1459, np æðelingas 805,

857, AP 3, 85, gp æðelinge 277, 623, 655, 1174, 1223, 1713  
**æðelu**, npl 1 *family, race* n 683, æðelo 734, d æðelum 689, a æðelo AP 24 — 2. *excellences, virtues* ip æðelum 636, 882  
**āwa**, adv, *forever* AP 99 Cf ā  
**āwēgan**, W1, *annul* pp āwēged 1439  
**āweallan**, R, *flow* pret 3 sg āwēoll 1523  
**āweccan**, W1, *awake, bring to life* pret 3 sg āwehte 584, AP 55  
**āweggan**, W1, *move* inf 503  
**āwellan**, W1, *well up, be stirred* pp āwelled 1019  
**āwergan**, W1, *curse* pp āweiged 1299  
**āwritan**, 1 1 *write* pp āwnten 135, 149 — 2. *carve* pp āwnten 726

## B

**bæl**, n, *fire* gs bæles 1186  
**bald**, see crebald, beald  
**bældan**, W1, *encourage, incite* 2 sg bældest 1186  
**baldor**, m, *prince* vs 547  
**bām**, see bēgen  
**bān**, n, *bone* ns 1422, 1473  
**banā**, m, *murderer* gs banan 617, ds 1702, as 1293, gp bonena 17  
**bāncofa**, m, *body* as bāncofan 1276  
**bāngēbrec**, n, *breaking of a bone* as 1442  
**bānhring**, m, *vertebra* ap bānhringas 150  
**bānhūs**, n, *body* ns 1240, 1405  
**bannan**, R, *summon* inf 1094  
**Bartholamēus**, pr n, *Bartholomew* ns AP 44  
**bāsnian**, W2 1 *await* pret 3 sg bāsnode 1065 — 2 *remain, abide* pret 3 sg 447  
**bāt**, m, *boat* ns 496, gs bātes 444. See mere-, sǣ-, wudubāt  
**bæð**, n, *bath* as 293, 1640  
**bæðweg**, m, *sea* as 223, 513

- be**, prep w dat 1 *beside, by* 360, 465, 831, 1061, 1063, 1492 — 2 *according to* 1366, 1611 — 3 *concerning* AP 23
- bēacen**, n, *sign, token* ns 1201, as 729, gp *bēacna* 242
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- hnægān, W1, *humble* opt pres 3 pl hnāgen 1329 *See gehnægān*
- hnītan, 1, *clash* pret 3 pl hneotan 4
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- holdlice, adv, *faithfully* 1639
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- homa, *see flæsc-*, lichoma
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- hraðe, adv, *quickly* 341, 947, 982, 1106, 1111, hræðe 1221, 1272, 1520, 1577
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- hrēodan, *see gehrēodan*
- hrēof, adj, *leprous* dp hrēofum 578
- hrēoh, adj, *rough, fierce* nsf 467, nsn 1542, apm hrēo 748
- hrēosan, 2, *fall, perish* 3 pl hrēosaþ 1438, pret 3 pl hruron 1600 *See tōhrēosan*
- hrēoða, *see bordhrēoða.*
- hrēow, *see rēow*
- hrēran, W1, *move, stir* ptc dpf hrērendum 491 *See onhrēran*
- hreðor, m, *breast, heart* ns 1018, ds hreðre 36, 69, 817, 893
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**hrōðor**, n, *comfort, consolation* ds hrōðre 111, 567, AP 95, gp hrōðra 1367  
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**hungor**, m, *hunger* gs hungres 1087, is hungre 1114, 1158  
**hūru**, adv, *verily, indeed* 549, AP 42  
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**hwæt**, adv, *why, how* 629, 1413  
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**hwæðre**, conj, *however, yet* 51, 1487, hwæðere 504  
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**hwearfian**, W2, *go, turn* inf 891  
**hwelan**, 4, *roar, resound* 3 sg hwileð 495  
**hweorfan**, 3, *turn, go* 1 pl hweorfað 405, pret 3 pl hweorfon 640, hweorfan 1050, inf 117, 1691 *See* ā-, be-, gehweorfan  
**hwettan**, W1, *whet, incite* 3 sg hweteð 286 *See* āhwettan  
**hwider**, adv, *whither* 405  
**hwīl**, f, *while, time* gs hwhile 113, as 131, 1478 *See* gryrehwīl  
**hwīlen**, *see unwhīlen*  
**hwīlum**, adv, *at times* 443, 514  
**hwyle**, pron, *which, who* nsm 411, 1372, nsn 1228, asm hwylcne 132, 785, 1100 *See* æg-, gehwylc  
**hyegan**, W3, *think* 2 pl hyegað 1612, pret 2 sg hogodest 1316, pret 3 sg hogode 622 *See* for-, gehyegan  
**hygende**, *see stūð-, wīðerhygende*  
**hȳdig**, *see gram-, wīðerhȳdig*  
**hygd**, *see ge-, ofei hygd*  
**hyge**, m, *mind, heart* ns 36, 231, 578, 1664, 1709, huge 634, 1252, AP 53, as hyge AP 68, hige 971, 1213, 1654  
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**hygeðanc**, m, *thought* gs hygeþances 817  
**hygeþancol**, adj, *thoughtful* nsm 341  
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**hyhtlic**, adj, *joyful* sup nsm hyhtlicost 104  
**hyld**, *see gehyld*  
**hyldan**, W1, *bend, bow* pret 3 pl hyl-don 1027  
**hyldu**, f, *kindness, favor* as hyldo 389  
**hylman**, *see forhylman*  
**hynfūs**, adj, *ready to die* np hynfūse 612

**hýran**, W1 *r hear, listen to* pret 1 sg hýide 360, pret 3 sg hērde 1176, pret 1 pl hýrde wē AP 70, opt pres 1 pl hýran 1167 — 2 *obey, follow* 2 pl hýrað 679, pret 3 pl hýrdon 612, opt pres 1 pl hýran 1606, inf 1639, AP 47 *See gehýran*

**hyrcman**, W2, *listen to* pret 3 pl hyrcnodon 654

**hyrdan**, *see onhyrdan*

**hyrde**, m, *guard* ns 807, np hyrdas 1083, ap 993, 1077

**hyrstan**, *see gehyrstan*

**hyse**, m, *man, youth* ds hysse 550, vs 595, 811

**hysebeorðor**, m, *young man* ds hysebeorðre 1142

**hyspan**, W1, *scorn, mock* inf 671 [hosp]

**hýðig**, *see unhýðig*

## I

**Iācōb**, pr n, *Jacob, James* ns 691, AP

35, 70, ds Iōcōbe 754, as Iācōb 794

**īc**, pron, *I* ns 64, 72, 77, 81, etc, for genitive, *see mīn*, ds mē 63, 76, 198, 200, etc, as mē 71, 85, 389, 905, etc np wē 1, 264, 268, 292, etc, for genitive, *see ūser*, dp ūs 276, 288, 292, 342, 514, 1420, 1566, 1567, ap 265, 269, 273, 330, 434, 596, 852, 862, 1419, 1561, ūsic 286

**īcan**, W1, *increase* 2 sg īcest 1190, inf ēcan 1384

**īdel**, adj, *vain* apm īdle AP. 84

**īdes**, f, *woman* np idesa 1638

**Ierūsālēm**, pr n, *Jerusalem* ds AP 70

**īgland**, n, *island* as 15

**īlca**, pron, *same* nsm 751, asf ilcan 911

**īn**, prep w dat and acc 1 *in, on, within, amid, among, at, by* (w dat) 51, 52, 69, 78, 121, 163, 169, 231, 281, 304, 356, 562, 573, 597, 707, 719, 854, 868, 927, 948(2), 973, 976, 1004, 1008, 1029, 1043, 1082, 1155, 1187, 1264,

1299, 1309, 1377, 1467, 1482, 1491, 1649, 1672, 1685, 1720, AP 16, 30, 40, 45, 70, 118 — 2 *into, to, towards* (w acc) 41, 111, 117, 217, 349, 656, 911, 929, 939, 951, 982, 1091, 1273, 1308, 1332, 1380, 1463, 1594, 1618, 1619, 1686, 1703

**īn**, adv, *in, inside* 362, 990, 1001, 1331, 1588, inn 1058

**Indēas**, pr n, *India* gp Indēa AP 51, dp Indēum AP 43

**īnflēde**, adj, *full of water* asf 1504

**īngeþanc**, mn, *thought, reason* as 35

**īnnan**, prep w dat, *in, within* 1235, 1547

**īnnan**, adv, *within* 1018, 1241

**īnnanweard**, adv, *within* 647

**īnne**, adv, *within* 1542

**īnwit**, n, *guile, deceit* as 610

**īnwitþanc**, m, *evil thought* as 670, ip inwitþancum 559

**īnwitwraesen**, f, *evil charm* as inwitwraese 63, ip inwitwraesnum 946

**Iōhannes**, pr n, *John* ds Iōhanne AP 23

**Iōsēph**, pr n, *Joseph* ns 688, gs Iōsēphes 691

**Iosua**, pr n, *Joshua* ns Iosua 1516

**īren**, n, *sword* as 1181

**īrnan**, *see onīrnan*

**Irtācus**, pr n, *Irtacus* ns AP 68

**īs**, n, *ice* ns 1261

**Īsaac**, pr n, *Isaac* ds Īsāce 753, as Īsaac 793

**Israhēl**, pr n, *Israelite* gp Israhēla 880, dp Israhēlum 165

**īu**, adv, *once, long ago, formerly* 438, 489, 661, 1377, 1386

**Iūdēas**, pr n, *Jews* gp Iūdēa 166, 560, 1325, dp Iūdēum 12, 966, 1408, AP 35

## L

**L** = *rune* † AP 102, *for meaning, see Note.*

**lāc**, f, *gift, offering*. as IIII. *See beadu-, gelāc*



- lāca, -lāca, *see* æglāca, gūðgelaca  
 lācan, R, *toss, move rapidly* 3 pl  
 lācað 253, ptc nsm lācende 437  
*See forlācan*
- lācende, *see* faroðlācende
- lād, f, *way, journey* ns 423, ds lāde  
 276, AP 92 *See* ēa-, ge-, lāgo-,  
 sǣ-, yðlād
- lāðan, W1, *lead, conduct* pret 3 pl  
 lāðdon 1459, lāðdan 1249, ptc nsm  
 lāðende 1477, pp lāðed 1307, inf  
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- Þrym**, n 1. *glory, majesty* ns þrym 3, 887, AP 8, ds þrymme 1685, as þrym 344, 723, 998 — 2 *multitude, power, strength* ns þrym 1260, 1536, 1572, ds þrymme AP 18, as þrym 957 *See* cyne-, heofon-, hilde-, wuldorþrym
- Þrymfæst**, adj, *strong, glorious* nsm þrymfæst 323, vsm 479
- Þrymfull**, adj, *illustrious* npm þrymfulle 363
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- Þurh**, prep w acc 1 *through, by, because of, in accordance with (condition and agency)* ƿurh 66, 315, 633, AP 34, 68, 80, þurh 34, 79, 109, 187, 218, 436, 525, 585, 597, 611, 631, 635, 642, 651, 670, 688, 699, 725, 771, 827, 912, 941, 965, 971, 975, 1000, 1092, 1294, 1336, 1348, 1418, 1440, 1442, 1444, 1475, 1476, 1520, 1530, 1532, 1552, 1580, 1586, 1616, 1629, 1635, 1651, 1692, AP 26, 29, 39, 53, 56, 60, 67, þurg AP 13, 63, ƿurg AP 72 — 2 *through, out of (place)* þurh 739, 1276, 1279
- Þurhdrifan**, 1, *pierce through* pp þurhdrifen 1397
- Þus**, adv, *thus* 1411, AP 85, þus 62, 173, 354, 539, 686, 818, 1716
- Þūsēnd**, num, *thousand* ap ƿūsēnds 591
- Þūsēndmælum**, adv, *in thousands* þūsēndmælum 872
- Þyder**, adv, *thither* þyder 282
- Þý læs**, conj, *lest, that not* þý læs 77, 1147, þē læs 1047
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- Þýn**, 1, *suppress* 3 sg ƿýð 520 *See* geþýn
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## U

**U** = rune ǀ AP 101, *for meaning, see* Notes

- ūhta**, m, *dawn* ds ūhtan 235, 1388
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- uncūð**, adj, *unknown, strange* asn AP 93, npn AP 112, gp uncūðra 178
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**undyrne**, adj, *manifest, famous* nsf  
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**unforcūð**, adj, *noble, illustrious* nsm  
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**unrīm**, n, *great number* as 704

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unsælige 561

**unscyldig**, adj, *guiltless, innocent*  
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unslāwne 1711

**unsyfre**, adj, *dirty* asn 1310

**untweonde**, adj, *not doubting, unhesi-  
tating* asn 1242

**untȳddre**, adj, *courageous* nsm 1252

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**utan**, interj, *let us* 1356, utu AP 115

**ūðweota**, m, *wise man, sage* ns 1105

## W

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wadu 1545, gp wæda 439, ap waðu  
1457

**wæd**, f, *sail* np wædo 375

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**wālgredig**, adj, *greedy for slaughter*  
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- weallan**, R 1 *flow, well out, flow forth* 3 pl weallað 1405, pret 3 sg wēoll 1240, 1275, 1280, 1546, ptc nsn weallende 1574, inf 1503 — 2. *be agitated, excited* pret 3 sg wēoll 769, ptc nsm weallende 1709 *See* āweallan
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